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GOOD QUEEN BESS¹

QUEEN ELIZABETH of England had established her claim to greatness many years before her death. Two of the greatest of her contemporaries, Pope Sixtus V. and King Henry of Navarre, who were agreed upon little else, were agreed upon that. In the generation which succeeded her there was no difference of opinion about the matter. Camden, Speed, and Stow all wrote of her in terms of extravagant admiration, so did Sir Francis Bacon. James I. himself, who had many excellent personal reasons for not cherishing her memory, declared her to have been one "who in wisdom and felicity of government surpassed all the Princes since the days of Augustus".²

During the whole of the seventeenth century the day of her accession was celebrated as a public holiday. It is a curious thing that in the time of the civil wars her memory seems to have been cherished with equal fervor by both parties. The Cavaliers looked back upon her as the champion of the Anglican Church and the royal prerogative, the Puritans as the defender of the true religion against Roman Catholicism. In fact, the Cavaliers had much more justification for their attitude than the Puritans had, but such was Elizabeth's position in the hearts of the English that those who were fighting hardest against her political and religious system contrived to frame an image of her to their liking. Cromwell himself pronounced her Queen Elizabeth of famous memory and added "we need not be ashamed to call her so".³ In the unfamiliar guise of Protestant champion she managed to survive almost unscathed the period in English political thought best calculated to produce her sternest critics.

¹ This paper was read at the Ann Arbor meeting of the American Historical Association, Dec. 31, 1925.

² W. Camden, *Annales* (transl. by R. Norton], Gent., London, 1635), p. 586.

³ Carlyle, *Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* (ed. Lomas), II. 513.

It is rather delightful to observe that the rationalistic temper of the eighteenth century found her as much to its taste as did the religious temper of the seventeenth, and for precisely the opposite reason. Hume the philosopher and historian commended her for her very lack of that religious partizanship which the Puritans had singled out for praise.

The nineteenth century was on the whole not less kind to her. It is hardly to be expected that she would appeal strongly to the conventional respectability of Agnes Strickland, or to the zealous Romanism of Lingard, but Macaulay and Green both acknowledged her essential greatness, Carlyle is quite carried away with admiration of her, and the two most conspicuous of her modern biographers, Creighton and Beesly, endorse, with some decent reservations, the judgment of her contemporaries. Yet the nineteenth century produced perhaps the most severe of all her critics in James Anthony Froude. Froude has probably done more than any one else to set the prevalent impression of her, and justly so, for no historian of sixteenth-century England has worked harder to wring the truth from the sources. It were going too far afield to summarize with any fullness his estimate of Elizabeth. He exonerates her of the charges against her private character, but his estimate of her as a queen is a low one. To Froude the central fact of her reign was the struggle against the Counter-Reformation, and since Elizabeth herself resolutely refused to define her problem in those terms, Froude will frankly have none of her. He concedes that she found England poor and weak and left her rich and powerful, but because her ways were not his ways, he ascribes her achievements more to good luck than good management. When things went right, they went right in spite of her, when they went wrong they went wrong because of her. This is good partizan logic, but it does not explain much. The one thing certain is that the policy of Elizabeth—and no one can seriously question that it was she herself who defined the policy of her government—was eminently successful. Whether the policy proposed by James Anthony Froude would have been more successful none but the high gods know.

The woman Elizabeth is a sufficiently familiar figure. Most of the portraits of her which survive are of middle or late life, when she wore a red wig and her face had grown long and hatchety, but it is clear enough that even in her youth she was not beautiful. There is intelligence and force and a good deal of pride in her countenance, but no indications of the gentler attributes of womanhood, nor of what we call nowadays feminine charm. She is said to have been

sickly. Not long ago we were treated to an elaborate analysis of her health which left her scarcely a leg to stand on.⁴ Nevertheless her physique proved to be equal to the strain of over forty years of the most exacting and nerve-racking kind of labor. She lived to bury every one of the group of courtiers and statesmen who surrounded her at her accession. Up to her time hers was, with one possible exception, the longest reign in English history, and only two English sovereigns since have reigned longer than she.

She had a sharp tongue, a vile temper, almost no feminine delicacy, and little or no feminine modesty. Of personal loyalty and affection she seems to have commanded little or none. Her popularity, which was great, lay entirely outside the circle of those who knew her intimately. In this respect she stood in marked contrast to her rival, Mary Stuart. A great deal has been written about her morals. Whether or not she lived and died a virgin will probably never be determined with certainty—nor is it a matter of any political consequence. No one ever commanded her heart, nor did her passions, if she had any, ever betray her judgment in a major issue. The probabilities are that she lacked any strong sex impulse, though Pollard's argument that she was sterile lacks conviction.⁵ Her coquetry was of so blatant a sort that one is almost tempted to assume a conscious effort on her part to emphasize what she conceived to be the attributes proper to her sex. It reminds one rather of the antics of college boys playing girls' parts in undergraduate dramatics.

Though the circumstances attending her birth ought to have marked her as a child of the Reformation, she was both by temper and by training the child of the Renaissance. No one of her time was more unsympathetic with medieval standards, whether of morals, of religion, or of politics; none a more vigorous exponent of *Realpolitik*, none a more adroit opportunist. If this attitude of mind had not been natural to her she could hardly have escaped the pitfalls which beset her early life. Her mother was executed while she was still a baby; before she was three she was branded a bastard and she lived under that stigma during much of her early childhood. While she was still a mere girl she became involved, probably through no fault of her own, in an unsavory scandal with her stepfather, and had she not been wary, might well have been drawn by his ambitious schemes into a position analogous to that of the unfortunate Lady Jane Grey. During her sister's reign she was cast by discontented Protestants for the part which discontented Catholics cast

⁴ Chamberlin, *The Private Character of Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1922), chaps. III. and VI.

⁵ A. F. Pollard, *History of England, 1547-1603* p. 181.

for her rival, Mary Stuart, later; but she was clever enough to conceal any connection with their treasonable purposes, if indeed there was any. Her whole youth was spent leaping from tussock to tussock through a bog of intrigue and conspiracy, with no other guide than her mother-wit and perhaps no other purpose than self-preservation. It is not surprising if in this mad dance with death she was forced to scrap any convictions she may have had, and if she lost any nice sense of honor or feminine delicacy. Nor is it surprising, when she reached something like solid ground at last, if she had developed extraordinary agility, both of mind and of conscience, extraordinary quickness in sizing up a situation, extraordinary readiness to go backwards or forwards or sidewise, wherever a new foothold seemed to offer, extraordinary indifference to anything like a logical and orderly progress, along with extraordinary self-confidence in her ability to get on somewhere somehow.

In nothing was Elizabeth more true to character than in her attitude towards the religious questions which in her time divided Europe into two hostile camps. If she was committed by the facts of her birth to the side against Rome she was well disciplined by the circumstances of her upbringing to accept the religious formulae imposed by the law of the land. A Henrican Catholic under her father, she became first a moderate and then a rather radical Protestant under her brother and then, with as good a grace as might be, a Roman Catholic at the direction of her older sister. There is no sound evidence that she ever displayed enthusiasm for any one of these creeds or ever revealed a strong distaste for any of them. She appears even then to have accepted the proposition that the establishment of religion was a matter which belonged properly to the prerogative of the crown. Her youthful experience must have fortified her in the belief that such a proposition was acceptable to the average Englishman. Before she was five and twenty she had seen him swallow at least three radical changes in his religion without any great fuss about the matter. She must have remarked too the relative indifference of England's neighbors to her religious vagaries. Her father and her brother both had carried through their religious programmes without any protracted disturbance of their international relations. No wonder then if Elizabeth, when she ascended the throne, approached the problem of religion with the conviction that her subjects would accept what she imposed and that her neighbors would never regard religion as such as a *casus belli*. It is doubtful if she attached much importance to questions of theology. Her final endorsement of a position opposed to Roman Catholicism is probably

to be explained rather by her opposition to papal authority than to Roman Catholic theology. Like her father she not only resented outside interference in the affairs of the Church in England, but she believed the direction of the religious life of her people to be essential to the integrity of her crown. Her disposition to subordinate religion to political control was quite consonant with the spirit of the times. It had its counterpart in the so-called Gallican movement in France, in the Augsburg settlement in Germany, and even in the attitude of so loyal a Catholic as Philip II. towards papal authority in Spain. Whether we should regard it in Elizabeth's case as a manifestation of Tudor despotism or of Tudor nationalism it is difficult to say. In any case it commanded popular support because it harmonized with the strong national spirit of Elizabethan England.

Elizabeth might perhaps have stopped where her father did and have limited her ecclesiastical changes to a breach with Rome, preserving all the essentials of the old church except its ultramontane government. But as Maitland has remarked, there was nothing to be gained by mere schism,⁶ no popular support to be expected from such a course. It must either be Catholicism and the pope, or something like the creed for which Cranmer and Ridley had died. If Elizabeth was to abandon Rome she must recruit her strength from the other camp. She could never forget that it was after all the Protestants who had borne her to the throne; hence her concessions to the new theology in the 39 Articles, put as ambiguously as might be. But she was not prepared to go far in that direction and she was not concerned at all about harmonizing her ecclesiastical arrangements with Protestant movements on the Continent. Her church was to be English; if it was not to be Roman it was certainly not to be Swiss or German. And it was to be under royal headship, whether that headship was to be expressly stated or decently veiled under an *et cetera* clause in her titles, and it was to be unchallenged. Of any open diversity of creeds in her realm she would no more hear than she would hear of a diversity of governments. Religious dissent was no more to be tolerated than political rebellion. The two were indeed classified together in her mind as they were in the minds of most of her contemporaries. As to the democratic ideas of church government emerging from Geneva, they were particularly obnoxious to her. She remarked on one occasion to the French ambassador that the Puritans did not wish to recognize either God or the king,⁷ an

⁶ *Cambridge Modern History*, II. 563.

⁷ Mauvissière, the French ambassador in England, wrote to the King of France, Oct. 16, 1579, that Elizabeth had said of the Puritans, "aucunes foyes

observation which forecasts the better known comment of her successor. It will not be forgotten that John Knox had barely preceded her accession with his *First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*, which he protested was not directed against her but which stood long in her mind as a fair indication of the attitude of militant Puritanism towards her and her office.

On the other hand, Elizabeth, as she herself protested, had no desire to open windows into men's souls. Outward conformity to the legally established religion she demanded, but given that men might think as they pleased. She was not interested in saving souls from hell fire, she was interested in an orderly state; and religious dissension, as she had good reason to know, meant civil disorder of the worst kind. There was a considerable amount of religious persecution in her reign, but it was directed not so much against religious beliefs as against the political implications of those beliefs. The Roman Catholics were treated with singular mildness until their religious propaganda became badly entangled with treasonable purposes against the crown. The Puritans she tolerated so long as they confined their attention to conforming and criticizing. It was when they showed themselves to be openly rebellious against her ecclesiastical arrangements that they felt her heavy hand. She was in fact a *politique*, whose attitude towards religious questions was shaped entirely by political considerations. Once again she belongs to the Renaissance, not to the Reformation, with William of Orange and Catherine de Médicis and Henry of Navarre, not with Admiral Coligny and Philip of Spain. It was her very indifference to religious considerations *per se* which kept her more zealous Protestant councillors constantly on tenter-hooks. They were never by any means sure that she would not turn back to the old faith for a consideration. Walsingham, her principal secretary, wrote to one of his Puritan brethren as late as 1578: "If you knew with what difficulty we retain that we have and that the seeking of more might hazard (according to man's understanding) that which we already have, you would then . . . deal warily in this time when policy carrieth more sway than zeal."⁸

It was the irony of fate that a woman of Elizabeth's temper should have been called to rule over England at a time when the national destiny was or seemed to be so intricately involved in issues purely religious. Many of her wisest councillors insisted that her *qu'a la fin ils voudroient reconnoistre ny Diew ny roy.*" Cf. Read, *Mr. Secretary Walsingham*, II. 260, n. 1.

⁸ Cited in Read, *Walsingham*, II. 265.

welfare was bound hand and foot to the fortunes of European Protestantism, struggling for its very life against the forces of the Counter-Reformation. They stormed and fumed because of her refusal to support whole-heartedly the cause of the Dutch rebels and of the French Huguenots. They figured her forth as the anointed champion of the Protestant faith. But Elizabeth steadily refused to accept the rôle they assigned to her. As she was never prepared to wage war for religious reasons herself, so she never could be brought to think that her neighbors were. Notwithstanding all the talk of Catholic leagues for the extermination of heretics, she believed that in the long run dynastic and national considerations would dominate the policy of the Catholic princes as they did her own. She was always prepared to exploit the resources of Protestantism for the benefit of England, but she was never prepared to allow the resources of England to be exploited for the benefit of Protestantism. She supported the Dutch rebels because they were a thorn in the side of Philip of Spain, whom she thought to be over-strong for her safety, but it is to be observed that when the French threatened to annex the Low Countries she was quite willing to join forces even with the Duke of Alva to prevent them. She supported the Huguenots because they served to weaken France and the strength in France of the party opposed to herself, but she was talking marriage with the offspring of Catherine de Médicis within six months after St. Bartholomew's. Her main objectives were to keep herself on the throne, England at peace, and her subjects contented and happy. If she could do that by feeding religious fires in her neighbors' houses, feed them she would, but as for crusaders' swords or martyrs' crowns, she was no more disposed to draw the one than she was to assume the other.

Her technique was essentially that of the Italian school of statecraft—cautious, crafty, and altogether untrammelled by moral considerations or by *a priori* convictions about anything human or divine. It was the product of the days of her weakness but she never abandoned it in the days of her strength. War she sought by all means to avoid, partly from sound reasons of state but partly also because war was uncongenial to her temper. In the indirect crooked ways of sixteenth-century diplomacy she found her true *métier*. She was always averse from bold and resolute courses and particularly from courses which admitted of no alternative. It suited her best to have a foot in every camp, and a finger in every pie, to keep open every door to advance, and to close no door to retreat.

Neither her enemies nor her intimate councillors ever knew what she would do next. She did not mean that they should know. Very likely she did not know herself. It was of the essence of her plan of action that she had no plan of action. She was ten years and more making up her mind to send troops to assist the Dutch rebels; within a fortnight of their despatch she was contemplating their recall. She delayed Norfolk's execution for months, not because she was not convinced of his treason, but because she did not wish to cut herself entirely off from the parties in England which he represented. It took her a still longer time to consent to the trial of Mary Queen of Scots and almost to the last she dallied with the idea of coming to terms with her adversary. It was altogether characteristic that even after Mary had been judged and condemned Elizabeth should have sought to evade responsibility for her death, first by getting her secretly murdered, and, when she found her servants too "dainty" for that grim business, by laying the blame for Mary's execution upon her secretary. Her father had a short way with traitors, but there was something too dreadfully definitive about the headsman's axe to suit his temporizing daughter.

Not the least remarkable thing about Elizabeth was her ability to utilize the resources peculiar to her sex. First to last she played a woman's game. A great deal of righteous mid-Victorian indignation has been directed against her devious ways in courtship. No doubt, judged by mid-Victorian standards, she deserved it. But she was in no position to cultivate the smug respectability of Queen Victoria, and very likely had little taste for it. Courtship was to her a diplomatic asset of first-rate importance, and its value to her from this point of view was increased precisely in proportion to the disposition of her contemporaries to regard it simply as a more or less modest device for getting a husband.

It will hardly be necessary to point out the advantages conceded by the conventions of love-making to the lady in the case. They have not greatly changed in the last three centuries. When the lady happened to be a queen to boot, and, as Walsingham put it, "the best marriage in her parish", these advantages were naturally stretched to the limit. Elizabeth recognized in this a rare diplomatic opportunity. She could play fast and loose with royal suitors, blow hot or cold as the exigencies of the international situation demanded, and excuse herself in the end for the most outrageous and transparent breaches of faith on the ground that her heart was not convinced. It is quite possible that her appreciation of the diplomatic advantages accruing from her unmarried state had a good deal to do

with keeping her unmarried. Marriage again was a dreadfully definitive business.

Taking her merely as a woman there was much in Elizabeth's position calculated to arouse our sympathies. She was without a husband, without children. Her nearest living relatives were first cousins. She never had close friends. She was ringed around with intriguing courtiers and hostile neighbors. It is not hard to picture her as a lonely, forlorn woman in an unfriendly world. And yet she never does arouse our sympathies, precisely for the reason that she never seems to stand in need of them. Notwithstanding all her apparent irresolution and vacillation she conveys the impression of being always mistress of the situation. Behind the irascible shrew one is conscious of a personality cold and hard and flexible as steel. Her councillors often disagreed with her, but the boldest of them rarely dared to act without her authorization. Following good Tudor precedent she surrounded herself with statesmen and courtiers who owed everything to her favor and who would lose everything at her displeasure. Nor did she ever delude herself with the idea that they were held by other considerations. Burghley perhaps enjoyed a larger measure of her confidence than any other man, but this was chiefly due to the fact that Burghley was as ardent a nationalist and almost as agile an opportunist as she was herself. And even Burghley never dominated her, not even to the extent of forcing Leicester from his privileged position beside her.

In fact she seems to have maintained Leicester as a counterpoise to Burghley and Burghley as a counterpoise to Leicester. Sir Robert Naunton, who knew her personally, says "that she ruled much by factions and parties, which herself both made, upheld, and weakened as her own great judgment advised".⁹ And a careful study of her reign goes far to substantiate his view of the matter. Of her favorites the three principal ones, Leicester, Hatton, and Essex, were all admitted to a larger share in her government than their abilities perhaps warranted, but there were bounds beyond which they might not step, as Essex learned to his sorrow. The statement often made that she distinguished sharply between her courtiers and her councillors is not justified, but it is certain that the men upon whose advice she chiefly depended were not selected for their engaging personal qualities. If one were to name the outstanding men in her council he would probably single out Lord Burghley, the Earl of Leicester, Sir Francis Walsingham, and Sir Robert Cecil. All of these except Leicester were men who would have ranked high among the states-

⁹ *Fragmenta Regalia* (ed. Arber), p. 16.

men of any country at any time. Elizabeth indeed had as keen an eye for a wise head as she had for a well-proportioned figure. She adored flattery of the most fulsome sort, but could listen to very plain talk from those whose judgment she had tested. It is to be remarked that her outstanding councillors lived out their lives in her service. Bacon, not Sir Francis but his father, Burghley, Leicester, Walsingham, and Sir Thomas Smith all died in harness. Robert Cecil outlived her. Once she singled out a man she hung to him through thick and thin, even though in her tempestuous intervals she might hurl plates at him. There are no Wolseys or Cromwells in the records of her reign. For one thing she allowed none to climb so high, for another she was too thrifty of her resources to destroy a man of ability even when his ideas ran directly counter to her own. But always she was the dominating figure and always her grasp was very firm upon the reins of power. None but a master hand could have driven Burghley and Leicester for over twenty years, and Cecil and Essex for nearly ten, in double harness, without overturning the coach of state.

At close range Elizabeth was clearly not a likeable sort of person, though she was a very keen and intelligent one. She commanded the loyalty of a sovereign from her court, but never the affection of a friend from a friend. It was what she stood for and particularly what she stood against that held their support, not the woman herself. In the orthodox sense of the term, it is hard to identify her even with what we think of as Elizabethan England. Of all that great company who made of her reign the golden age of English literature, only two, Sir Philip Sidney and Sir Walter Raleigh, enjoyed any large measure of her favors, and neither of these owed their fortunes to their literary talents. Sidney had his uncle, the Earl of Leicester, to thank, Raleigh his *beaux yeux*. The greatest literary figure of her time was hardly known and apparently never patronized by her. Nor was she in any essential sympathy with the purposes of the great Elizabethan seafarers, Drake and Hawkins and Gilbert and the rest, though she was ready enough to make her profit from their enterprises. In all of these respects she does not conform to the prevalent conception of her age. She was not a good Elizabethan.

But then it is open to question whether the average Englishman of her times was a good Elizabethan. The articulate elements of any age have a way of stamping their impress upon the age, but it is dangerous, though common, to assume that their thoughts and their aspirations to any considerable extent reflect the thought and as-

pirations of the inarticulate masses. The England of Elizabeth was the England of Shakespeare and of Marlowe, of Sidney and of Raleigh, of Drake and of Hawkins, of Gresham and of Burghley, of Thomas Cartwright, of Edmund Campion, and of Richard Hooker; but it was also the England of common folk who were not dramatists, not gallants, not bold navigators, not rich merchants or rich landlords, and not religious zealots of any faith. No doubt the great mass of Elizabeth's subjects fell within this undistinguished category. The average Englishman of her age, as indeed of all ages before and since, was probably a commonplace fellow with commonplace aspirations. Generally speaking he was left out of account in the calculations of his rulers. It was the peculiar distinction of Elizabeth that she never lost sight of him, that she was indeed much more careful of him than was any one of the wise and gallant company that surrounded her. She knew what he wanted and she knew that it was not a damp grave in Flanders, or a damper one off the Spanish Main, or the fires of Smithfield, or heavy taxes, or the enclosure of his commons, or a mercantile system of trade designed to exploit the poor for the benefit of the rich, or any of the other things which those with whom she was in habitual contact would have had her impose upon him.

Indeed she was determined to deliver him from them if she could. How hard she strove to avoid war has been remarked upon already. Had it been possible she would have ignored religious controversies altogether. As it was she undertook to provide a church catholic enough to suit what she held to be the requirements of all reasonable men. Sorely as she needed money she kept her taxes low, preferring to borrow from the rich by such politely illegal devices as privy seals, to increasing the fiscal burden upon the nation at large. She turned a deaf ear to the sound economics of spirited cultivators and approached the agrarian problem with the strange idea that it was more important to preserve the peasantry than to increase the yield of the soil. She was a poor mercantilist if only because she saw that there was no necessary relation between the increase of national wealth and the distribution of it. The cloth trade interested her not so much because it swelled the purses of merchant adventurers, as because it provided bread and butter for the English weavers. It is shocking to observe how little respect she had for the common law. Her prerogative courts punished powerful offenders without regard to its tedious procedure. Perhaps she discerned what the next century was to make apparent, that the common law was rapidly becoming the chosen weapon of a new and dangerous oligarchy of

country squires and town merchants, who already dominated the local administration and who were presently to dominate through the high court of Parliament not only the crown but every lesser creature in England.

Elizabeth would have been the last to confess to any high flown purposes of social justice and she would have been the last to endorse such modern gospels as liberty, fraternity, and equality. It not only flattered her vanity to play at Gloriana among her courtiers, but it also expressed her own conception of her position in the state. But she never allowed the glittering pageantry of her court circle to isolate her from the nation at large, she never forgot that she was queen of all the English. The pomp and splendor which surrounded her person was never a cage for her as it was later for Louis XIV. It was nothing more than a frame from which she looked out, a benevolent mistress, upon her people. And it was so that the average Englishman in turn regarded her. He did not know what Elizabeth was to her court circle, to her ladies in waiting, to her harassed councillors, to Bernardino de Mendoza, or to Castelnau de la Mauvissière—to him she was Good Queen Bess.

In that fact, in the affectionate familiarity of that name, lies more of the truth about her than any amount of court scandal and court gossip. She is not seen in her true proportions through the state papers and the confidential despatches. One must look at her afar off as she appeared to the rank and file of her subjects. For once the archives are less trustworthy than the gossip of the market-place. The English people by and large felt that Elizabeth was their queen, they knew her and loved her and believed that she knew and loved them. It was this fundamental sympathy and understanding between her and them which constituted the chief source of her strength. So far was she from being lonely that she was conscious of a whole nation behind her and around her. That was why she dared to play fast and loose with her Council and even on occasion to defy Puritan parliaments. No monarch of her time and very few since have been so sensitive to what we call nowadays public opinion. And none probably has attached more importance to it, or courted it more assiduously. She was perhaps the first of English monarchs to realize the importance of the press as an instrument in shaping popular sentiment. During the last twenty-five years of her life she scarcely took a single important step in policy without justifying her action by an official publication in which documents were often set forth at length in a manner suggestive of the modern blue-books. The Throgmorton Plot, the Parry Plot, the despatch of

troops to the Low Countries, the execution of Mary Queen of Scots, the defeat of the Spanish Armada, the seizure of the Hansa grain ships in 1589, the Cadiz expedition of the same year—to mention no others—were all explained to the nation by government pamphlets, many of which were even put forth in French, Italian, and Latin versions, for distribution on the Continent. Contemporary chronicles were made to serve something like the same purpose. Those parts of Holinshed which covered Elizabeth's reign were carefully edited by royal censors; and Stow's innumerable editions of his *Annals*, of which at least a dozen appeared before Elizabeth's death, in every form from pocket books to folios, were no doubt officially inspired. Elizabeth lacked the daily newspaper press, but she did her best with what she had.

There is every indication that she shaped her public behavior with the same ends in view. Her condescending familiarity in her casual contacts with simple folk, her majestic mien on state occasions, her multitudinous portraits, her elaborate wardrobes, her constant progresses, were so much stage property in her dramatic appeal to popular attention and popular admiration. From the days when she passed through London streets in sober mourning, a mere prisoner in her jealous sister's charge, to the closing scene of her reign, when she fought hard to be allowed to die on her feet, Elizabeth never forgot that the eyes of her people were upon her. It was for them that she staged her visit to the good ship *Pelican*, and knighted Sir Francis Drake for one of the most daring pieces of piracy ever perpetrated. It was for them that she put on helmet and corselet and rode through the ranks of her soldiers at Tilbury Camp. The speech ascribed to her at Tilbury may be apocryphal, but no one can doubt that on that dramatic occasion, when the Spanish Armada was in the channel and when she faced the armies of England gathered in her defense, she rose to the full measure of her greatness.

Her contacts with her parliaments were not invariably smooth and easy. More than once, as on the question of her marriage, they crowded her for decisions upon matters which she thought it wise to leave undecided. More than once she came perilously near losing her temper with them.

Was I not born in this realm [she demanded of them], were my parents born in any foreign country? Is there any cause that should alienate myself from being careful over this country? Is not my kingdom here? Whom have I oppressed? Whom have I enriched to others' losses? What turmoils have I made to this commonwealth that I should be suspected to have no regard of the same? How have I governed since my

reign? I will be tried by envy itself. . . . Though I be a woman I have as good a courage answerable to my place as ever my father had. I am your anointed Queen. I will never be by violence constrained to do anything. I thank God I am endued with such qualities that if I were turned out of the realm in my petticoat I were able to live in any place in Christendom.¹⁰

But she never carried an issue with them to a point beyond which she would run the risk of estranging their loyalty.

She was not much given to philosophizing about the position of the crown in the state. Generally speaking she left such high matters to the wise fool who succeeded her. It is clear enough that she believed in the divine right of kings; she believed also in the divine responsibility of kings. But she never lost sight of the fact that from whatever sources her power sprang, and however absolute it might be argued to be, it rested ultimately upon the consent of her people.

In my governing this land [she said on one notable occasion] I have ever set the last judgment day before mine eyes, and so to rule as I shall be judged and answer before a higher Judge, to whose judgment seat I do appeal—that never thought was cherished in my heart that tended not to my People's good. . . . For myself I was never so much enticed with the glorious name of a King or royal authority of a Queen, as delighted that God hath made me this instrument to maintain His truth and glory and to defend this Kingdom from peril, dishonour, tyranny, and oppression.¹¹

In this statement she came as near as perhaps she ever came to a definition of her political creed. Two centuries later such an utterance would have classified her among the benevolent despots. But she differed from them in this, that she did not seek to impose enlightened theories of good government without reference to time and place and circumstance. She knew her land, she sensed intuitively the needs and desires of her people and she shaped her policy in accordance with them. Her government was brilliantly successful, not because it was wise and far-sighted, for very often it was not, but because it was nicely attuned to the popular will.

¹⁰ Cited by J. E. Neale in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVI. 516. A fragment, in Elizabeth's own hand, of what was probably the preliminary draft of this speech, is preserved.

¹¹ D'Ewes, *Journals of the Parliaments of Queen Elizabeth*, p. 660. Camden's paraphrase of this passage from the famous "Golden Speech" is even more to the point, "I know that the Commonwealth is to be governed for the benefit of those that are committed, not of those to whom it is committed, and that an account is one day to be given before another judgment seat". *Annales* (Eng. tr., 1635), pp. 562-563.

In what was almost her last public utterance to her people, Elizabeth summarized her greatest achievement in one glowing sentence. "Though God", she told the Commons, "hath raised me high, yet this I account the glory of my crown, that I have reigned with your loves".¹²

No one doubted it. Her long reign declared it. The constitutional restraints devised to prevent the abuse of royal power might be held in reserve for less happy times. England had Good Queen Bess.

CONYERS READ.

¹² D'Ewes, *Journals*, p. 659.

THE SOUTH SEA COMPANY AND CONTRABAND TRADE

IN the old Spanish archive at Simancas there is a collection of papers that a Spanish plenipotentiary to the Congress of Soissons purchased from two faithless, but highly placed, servants of the South Sea Company, that gives an intimate view of the methods employed by that body in carrying on trade in Spanish America in the early years of the eighteenth century. Along with these documents is the correspondence to which their acquisition gave rise, consisting of letters from the Englishmen to the Spanish minister and the correspondence of the latter with the authorities in Madrid. In the second group the Spanish representative explains the significance of the papers that he has bought, the manner in which he has secured them, and the character of the men from whom they have been acquired. The documents from the Englishmen fall into two divisions: the first comprises the papers that were in their possession as servants of the South Sea Company, the second contains the sworn declarations of the men themselves, in which they give a résumé of their knowledge of the illicit proceedings of the company, basing their statements either on personal experience or on documents open to them.

It would seem that neither official knew of the other's relations with Spaniards. Their two sworn statements, secured thus independently, corroborate and amplify each other, and with the documents turned over to the Spanish minister constitute, as the latter wrote to the secretary of state, irrefutable proof of the frauds, contraband activities, and malversations of the English company.¹ At the present time, however, the interest of the papers lies not so much in any proof they provide that the South Sea Company carried on its commerce illegally, of which there has long been no question, but in the wealth of elaborate detail concerning the exact methods employed, set forth by persons whose positions qualified them to speak with peculiar authority; and secondly, the documents are interesting in the evidence that they furnish of the circumstantial information of English procedure possessed at the time by the Spaniards. The full armor of facts with which the Spanish representatives faced the English in congresses, conferences, and interviews, called in the 'thirties of the eighteenth century to bring about a settlement of

¹ Simancas, Est. 2370 (Antig. 7017). Barrenechea to Paz, Mar. 19, 1729.

mutual complaints concerning relations in America, undoubtedly stiffened greatly their resistance to any suggestion of concessions. Matched by equal English determination, this rigidity of attitude meant a constant state of strained relations between the two powers, warm friendship on the part of Spain with France, and finally war between England and Spain in 1739.

It was on the last day of August, 1728, that the Marquis de Barrenechea, one of the Spanish plenipotentiaries at Soissons, was able to write home that, in return for promises of protection and pensions, he had been able to secure the confidence and services of two very able persons who had been sent from London to advise the British representatives.² One of these, whose name was later divulged as Dr. John Burnet, had been a factor for the South Sea Company at Porto Bello and Cartagena; the other, Matthew Plowes, the minister described as the secretary and principal accountant of the English company.³

At this period the Congress of Soissons had been in session for two months. When it opened on June 16 one item on its programme had been the business of dealing with the rights and pretensions of the English and Spaniards concerning contraband trade in America. The method at first adopted of dealing with this as with other matters in dispute had been that prescribed by the terms of the "Preliminaries" of the preceding year and of the "Act of the Pardo" of March of that year, according to which all parties were to be at liberty to present memorials relating to their pretensions and to have these discussed and decided at the congress. By the middle of August the delays and difficulties incident to such a mode of procedure had made it evident that the term stipulated for the conference would expire with nothing accomplished, except the further exasperation of all concerned, if some other plan were not put into practice. Chiefly through the influence and activity of the Emperor's first plenipotentiary,⁴ it had been finally agreed to settle all matters essential to a general pacification by means of a provisional treaty whose terms should provide for the confirmation of treaties prior to 1725, the settlement of matters in dispute relating to the treaties of Vienna, and the reference of all lesser matters to specially appointed commissioners.⁵ The treaty had been drawn up and despatched to

² *Ibid.* Barrenechea to Paz, Aug. 31, 1728.

³ *Ibid.* "Secretario y contador principal que corre con los libros y asientos de la Compañía."

⁴ Count Senzendorff.

⁵ P. R. O., Treaty Papers, 110. Paper entitled "Deductions relating to the present and past state of the Negotiation", unsigned and undated, but apparently written in April, 1729.

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the respective courts for approval on August 21, and the representatives of the various powers in Paris and Soissons had settled down to await the result.⁶

It was this interval that the Marquis de Barrenechea utilized for the purpose of winning over to the Spanish service the two officials whom the South Sea Company, in the course of the summer, had sent to France to assist the British plenipotentiaries with their expert knowledge of its affairs. While it was now clear that no settlement of the numerous Spanish complaints concerning English contraband activities in America could be hoped for in the course of the conference, there was still the future to provide for. Sooner or later English and Spanish commissioners would meet with rival lists of complaints concerning the infringement of treaties by their nationals in the New World, and detailed information of the methods of the South Sea Company, such as its own officials could alone provide, would be ammunition of the most valuable kind.

Better informants than the two English agents, then at the congress, could not well have been found. Plowes, the secretary and chief accountant of the company, was obviously in a position to supply information of the policy and plans of the central office and to turn over to Spanish hands the financial statements and other papers that would reveal the extent and nature of the company's activities and prove the truth of the Spanish allegations against the organization; Burnet, on the other hand, from his long experience as factor in Central America could explain how the plans of the company were carried into effect in the New World. Plowes was obviously the greater catch and was the first to be won over. In the correspondence of the ministers he is constantly referred to as "*el confidente principal*". His price was £60 paid down, and the promise of protection and an annual pension of 500 *dobloones*.⁷ In return for these he gave himself over completely to the Spanish service, going, in disguise, at two in the morning, to the rooms of the Marquis de Bar-

⁶ P. R. O., Treaty Papers, 110. An abstract of the draft of the provisional treaty is present, also the Spanish reply dated Sept. 6, 1728, which ran "*Siendo en ninguna manera admisible en pura forma que tiene, la considera S. M. como un solo principio de negociacion que se perficione con otras demandas y explicaciones*", an answer which naturally caused further delay.

⁷ Sim., Est. 2370 (Antig. 7017). Barrenechea to Paz, Aug. 31, 1728. "He tenido forma de ganar a este por un conducto muy de su confianza, el qual me costó 60 libras que hube de buscar inmediatamente y mediante la palabra de honor que le di asegurandole la proteccion del Rey, Nuestro Señor, y que tendria por esa corte una pension annual competente y secreta en retribucion de este servicio." *Ibid.* Paz to Plowes, Sept. 27, 1728, containing the official announcement that a pension of 500 *dobloones* has been granted and Plowes to Paz, Oct. 5, 1728, containing Plowes's acknowledgement and thanks.

renechea and turning over to him a large number of important documents, promising other papers as he could acquire them, and giving his word to spy out and furnish information concerning the movements and plans of the British plenipotentiaries. Barrenechea considered the documents thus acquired of such a precious character that he dared not have them translated in France but despatched them to Madrid in the original English.⁸ They are to-day in the archive at Simancas.

In the course of the secret night meeting in August, Plowes explained to Barrenechea the general nature of the papers which he had brought with him, and of the others which he promised shortly to supply. In all he turned over to the Spaniards forty-two documents, which Barrenechea had him separately indorse.⁹ A number of these were financial statements of the company's affairs such as that body had constantly refused to furnish to the Spaniards. Others that particularly interested the ministers were letters and papers that gave the names of the Spanish officials in America, who, in return for bribes in various forms, often set forth in detail in these papers, had lent their assistance, or at least closed their eyes, to the illicit introduction of English goods into their territories. Illustrative of this class of documents was number 17, consisting of a letter dated July, 1727, remitted by the ship *Prince Frederick*, whose contents showed that, in recognition of the viceroy of Mexico's complacency in delaying to put into force an objectionable cedula until after the English ship had comfortably sailed, the company had presented a number of gifts to that Spanish official, including "a sword garnished with diamonds and a very exquisite musical clock".¹⁰ Document 18 was of a similar character, showing that the supercargoes of the *Royal George* had spent some 118,000 pesos in bribes to Spanish officials for their aid in the introduction of contraband goods.¹¹ An extract from a letter from the Porto Bello factory to the directors of the company dated August 18, 1722, constituted another item. It read:

It is with great concern that we are obliged to tell Your Honours that we have been compelled by threats and menaces of having the intervention put upon us, to regale the Governor of Panama with 6000 pesos

⁸ *Ibid.* Barrenechea to Paz, Aug. 31, 1728.

⁹ Correspondence concerning the character of these papers is to be found in the following letters: (Sim., Est. 2370) Barrenechea to Paz, Aug. 31, 1728, Jan. 17, 1729 (containing an index to the 42 documents), Mar. 19, 1729; Paz to Barrenechea, Nov. 14, 1728; Patiño to Barrenechea, Sept. 4, 1729.

¹⁰ Sim., Est. 2370 (Antig. 7017). Paz to Barrenechea, Nov. 14, 1728.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

de ocho, the fiscal with 1500 and the two other Royal Officials with 1000 each and as Your Honours never sent a present to the General we were forced to purchase a ring for him with 2400 *pesos de ocho*, the same demands Your Honours must always expect from the Governor and royal officials except we have a superior interest at Madrid to crush them.¹²

Another paper gave the details of a contract between a certain Don Francisco de Alcibar, a Spanish official of Buenos Aires, and Captain Opie of the company's service, the terms of which provided that Opie should carry to Buenos Aires a cargo of merchandise under the guise of provisions belonging to the company. The wording made it clear that certain Jesuit fathers from Paraguay, engaged also in the illegal export of silver, were implicated in this arrangement with Opie. Another document brought to light the fact that the Spanish agent in London¹³ especially charged with the protection of Spanish interests in the Asiento traffic had received a thousand pounds and an annual pension of eight hundred pounds, in return for countenancing false measurements of the permission-ships and other frauds on the part of the company.

The Plowes collection further supplied the Spaniards with such useful papers as the key to the cipher used by William Stanhope in his correspondence with the English government, a statement of the British government's financial position, a package of eight original letters from the English factory at Buenos Aires, written in 1718, the statement made by John Utbar, second mate of the *Royal George*, to a committee appointed by the directors of the South Sea Company, June 7, 1727, concerning the events of that permission-ship's recent voyage to Spanish America, a copy of the instructions issued to the Spanish plenipotentiaries to the Congress of Soissons that Mr. Keene, British ambassador in Spain, had purchased from some assistant in the naval department and forwarded to London, a copy of the memorial presented by the South Sea Company to the British plenipotentiaries on September 17, 1728, a copy of the letter from the directors of the company to Mr. Keene, dated August 29, 1728, reviewing the history of events from 1716 onward, and a representation from the Board of Trade on commerce between Great Britain and Spain, dated June 27, 1728. Taken as a whole the documents secured from the South Sea Company's secretary constituted as rich an assemblage of facts damaging to that organization as could well have been gathered from any quarter.

Through the autumn, while awaiting the final decision of Madrid on the provisional treaty, Barrenechea continued to keep in touch

¹² Sim., Est. 2370.

¹³ Don Guillermo Eon.

with Plowes and from time to time received additional documents from him.¹⁴ The official notice that the pension had been granted was sent on September 27. As evidence of his gratitude, Plowes, early in October, forwarded to Barrenechea the model of a letter containing charges against the directors of the company, which he said, if published in London, a little before the opening of Parliament, would probably have the desirable effect of causing a general clamor against the company, by producing a demand on the part of the stock-holders for an examination of the accounts, and finally bring about a parliamentary investigation.¹⁵ He considered that these results would be the more likely to follow as the majority of the English nation already believed that the clandestine commerce carried on by the company had been the principal cause of the late war and was now the reason for the delay in the conclusion of peace. Many of the stock-holders, he pointed out to Barrenechea, were rich merchants who believed that the Asiento commerce was ruining their trade with the Spanish peninsula and that the only people who were profiting from it were a few of the directors. A parliamentary investigation would certainly begin with the Asiento, Plowes said, and would probably end by shaking the ministry. He had been careful to include in his letter, he wrote, only such charges as could easily be proved.

Having completed the business of securing as many documents as possible, and having these indorsed and certified by the English company's own official, Barrenechea next induced Plowes to round off his contribution by preparing a sworn statement in his own words which should be in the nature of a résumé of all the documents that he turned over. In forwarding this declaration to Madrid, the minister wrote that he considered this part of the business not less important than the gathering of the documents.¹⁶

Plowes's statement, which was signed in Paris on March 28, 1729, opens with the assertion that the Royal Company of England had wholly abused the privileges that had been granted to it by the King of Spain in the Asiento agreement of the Treaty of Utrecht. Beginning with the first permission-ship in 1715, the company had carried on a large contraband trade. No ship of this class, the secretary swears, had gone to the Indies that had not borne, besides its legitimate cargo, a surplus of contraband goods, while, at the

¹⁴ *Ibid.* Plowes to Barrenechea, Soissons, Sept. 3 and 4, Paris, Sept. 17 and 20, Oct. 31, 1728; see also Barrenechea to Paz, Dec. 6, 1728, Jan. 17, 1729.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* Plowes to Barrenechea, Paris, Oct. 31, 1728.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* Barrenechea to Paz, Mar. 19, 1729; Plowes's statement is also in the same *legajo*—Est. 2370 (Antig. 7017).

same time, the negro packet-boats had also consistently engaged in illicit trade. Bribes, on a large scale, to the Spanish officials at the American ports had made the illegal commerce possible. Plowes refers to a number of specific cases. The *Bedford*, the first permission-ship, sailing in 1715 for Cartagena, had carried a large cargo of contraband merchandise whose sale had been facilitated by bribes to the governor and royal officials amounting in money and gifts to 75,000 pieces of eight.¹⁷ In the next two years the cargoes of a number of ships, particularly the *Kingston*, had been disposed of in Buenos Aires by the company's officials with the governor of that place receiving 25 per cent. of the profits. The *Royal George*, sailing from England in February, 1724, had taken on at St. Christopher's Island a cargo of expensive bale-goods that found a market in Cartagena and Porto Bello after 118,000 pieces of eight had been expended in bribes.¹⁸ In the following year, the annual ship *Prince Frederick*¹⁹ had been accompanied as far as the West Indies by a second vessel, called the *Spotswood*, whose cargo of 300 tons of merchandise had then been transferred to the licensed ship, whose provisions were by that time sufficiently reduced to make available the needed space. But even this device had not been considered enough and another supplementary vessel, called the *Prince of Asturias*, had followed the permission-ship with a cargo of goods into Vera Cruz.

Plowes emphasizes the point that the loss to his Catholic Majesty through the contraband activities of the company was made very much heavier by that body's practice of allowing all of its officials to engage in commercial transactions on their own account. Each of these went as far as his resources or credit permitted and even carried on trade for others on a commission basis. In this fashion the Spanish American dominions were kept flooded with goods and legitimate traffic by way of the Spanish galleons suffered heavily.

¹⁷ Burnet estimates the sum expended in bribes on this occasion at 80,000 to 85,000 pieces of eight. Neither Plowes nor Burnet mentions the long series of obstructions placed by the Spaniards in the way of the sale of this vessel's cargo that were so bitterly complained of by the South Sea Company.

¹⁸ The full statement of John Utbar, second mate of the *Royal George* on this voyage, which was made before a committee of the South Sea Company, June 7, 1727, states that the bale-goods taken on at St. Christopher's constituted three loads of a sloop of 180 tons and that on one of the three trips made by this vessel to the side of the *Royal George* sixty or seventy bales were transferred. At Cartagena these goods were reloaded and taken to Porto Bello as goods belonging to the company. Burnet mentions a supplementary vessel as having followed the *Royal George* on this occasion.

¹⁹ According to a statement in the instructions issued to the Spanish plenipotentiaries at the Congress of Soissons, the *Prince Frederick* arrived at Vera Cruz on Oct. 25, 1725, and sailed for England, after a period of detention, July 24, 1727.

Leaving the subject of the introduction of English goods in illegal quantities into Spanish America through the permission-ships and the negro packet-boats, Plowes turns to a consideration of the cargoes of these vessels on their homeward journeys. In this connection he declares that the company's officials were continuously defrauding his Catholic Majesty of the royal fifth due on all silver, by clandestinely exporting quantities of this metal in the company's vessels to Europe.²⁰ The eastward-bound vessels also frequently carried, in utter disregard of the terms of the original contract, Spanish passengers who brought away with them large amounts of silver. Two Jesuit priests from Paraguay, carrying more than 400,000 pieces of eight in gold and silver, whom Captain Opie brought to London, and the son of a royal official of Cartagena who travelled on the *Royal George*, are particularly instanced.

Plowes warns the Spanish government that the new vessel of 300 tons, or two smaller boats of 150 each, that the South Sea Company had been recently seeking permission from the Spanish authorities to send to America with provisions for the return voyage of the *Prince Frederick* from Vera Cruz, were desired chiefly for the further opportunities for contraband traffic that they would afford.

Taking into consideration the abuses and illegalities that had marked the English company's procedure since the granting of the Asiento contract, Plowes declares that, in his opinion, His Catholic Majesty would be justified in refusing to allow that body to send another ship with merchandise to his American dominions. In closing his paper he swears that the statements that he has made are wholly true, having been entirely based on the accounts and correspondence that have been open to him as secretary of the South Sea Company.

A few weeks before Plowes signed his declaration, the Spaniards had secured a paper²¹ of similar nature from his fellow-servant, John Burnet. As in the case of Plowes, the Spanish minister had good

²⁰ Giving information concerning the return cargo of the *Royal George*, John Utbar states that the greatest amount of the treasure was secured at Porto Bello and that this in all amounted to 386 chests, 55 cases, and 33 casks. Later, he adds, while the *Royal George* was anchored at Bastimentos, a sloop arrived from Porto Bello bringing an addition of 136 chests, 2 cases, and 1 cask. On the homeward journey, the ship was declared unfit for the trip and was taken to Antigua and condemned. There, according to Utbar, three large bags, each of a size to contain two or three hundred pounds of silver, were transferred from the permission-ship to the accompanying man-of-war. Burnet, in his sworn statement entitled "Sobre Extracciones", speaks of the great amount of gold and silver carried by the *Royal George* on both of her voyages. Cf. p. 674.

²¹ Signed at Paris, Feb. 3, 1729. Sim., Est. 2370 (Antig. 7017).

reason to be proud of his achievement in depriving the English company of the loyalty of this one of its officials. Burnet's term of service covered a period of fifteen years and his personal knowledge of the company's affairs in various parts of Spanish America could have been rivalled by that of few others. A graduate in medicine of the University of Edinburgh, Burnet had made his first voyage to America, according to his own account, some time previous to 1716, in one of the first of the company's slave-ships to carry negroes from the coast of Guinea to Buenos Aires.²² After spending four months in the South American city he had returned to London to make a report to the directors concerning the commercial situation in that part of the world. At the beginning of 1716, he had been sent as factor and medical officer to Porto Bello, where he remained for nearly three years. After a visit to England at the close of 1718, he had again returned to Central America in 1721, this time to Cartagena. Here he appears to have remained until shortly before the Congress of Soissons, when, during a recess in England, he had been despatched to lend his assistance to the British ministers attending the international conference. At the time that he sold himself to the Spaniards his wife and family were still living in Cartagena of the Indies.

Although an educated man, Burnet's powers of Spanish composition leave much to be desired. His sworn statement, as originally written by himself, is a confused and poorly written document, full of grammatical and orthographical errors. When it was shown to Barrenechea, it appeared to him so unsatisfactory that he directed a member of his staff to revise all the information that the factor could furnish and place it clearly and intelligibly under different headings. Acting under these instructions, Don Andrés de Otamendri prepared six separate statements, which, after being approved by Barrenechea, were copied and signed by Burnet.²³ In some instances the revised statements are merely transcribed sections from the original paper written in improved Spanish and provided with a heading, in other cases new material is introduced while large portions of the original composition are omitted altogether.

The six declarations as arranged by Otamendri are interesting in that they indicate those sections of Burnet's rambling paper that seemed to the Spaniards likely to be most useful to them in their future dealings with the English. They bear the following captions:

²² The *Wiltshire*.

²³ Sim., Est. 2370 (Antig. 7017). Don Andrés de Otamendri to (M. de la Paz?), Paris, Feb. 21, 1729.

(1) Sobre Comercio Illicito, (2) Sobre Extracciones y Sobre Pasajeros, (3) Sobre Navios de Permiso, (4) De Hostilidades, (5) De Contravenciones, (6) De los Jamaycanos.²⁴

Of the six statements the longest and most important is that on illicit commerce. It contains many facts that are not found in Barrenechea's first paper and at the same time provides a useful key to the earlier statement. In general terms Burnet declares that the South Sea Company had long kept the Spanish American colonies flooded with English contraband goods through such practices as false measurements and excessive crowding of the permission-ships, sending merchandise on the packet-boats that were supposed to carry only negro slaves, licensing individuals who traded extensively under cover of supplying slaves to those sections of the Spanish American coast where the company did not have factories,²⁵ countenancing and abetting through its officials various schemes for contraband trading that centered at Jamaica, and, above all, by permitting all of its employees to trade in their own interests in the Spanish American ports. Like Plowes, Burnet lays special emphasis on the latter phase of the contraband commerce. Private trading had gone to such lengths, he declares, that sailors refused to sail with captains who ventured to restrict their commercial activities. There was no mariner of a packet-boat, the factor goes to the length of saying, who did not carry a commission to the value of 2000 to 3000 pesos from some Jamaican Jew on every one of the four or five trips made annually by such boats. It was not, however, to be imagined, he says, that the ships carried a smaller load of the goods of the company in order to provide room for the private cargoes. They merely adopted innumerable illegal devices to increase the available space. He mentions some instances that he can remember. Thus the *Royal George*, the permission-ship that carried him to

²⁴ The titles here given are those on the signed copies preserved at Simancas, Est. 2370 (Antig. 7017). Otamendri, in writing to Madrid concerning them (Feb. 21, 1729), varies the forms somewhat. He mentions that the originals were being held in Paris by Barrenechea in case of possible need for them and that the authorized copies were being forwarded to Madrid.

²⁵ Sim., Est. 2370 (7017). Burnet, Sobre Comercio Illicito. "La misma compañía indirectamente abre un camino admirable para el comercio ilícito concediendo licencia ó arrendando la costa donde no tiene factorías à particulares, à razon de ochenta pesos de indulto por cada pieza de indias que introducen en la costa de Barlovento, Sta Martha, Cumana, y Maracaibo, y no les pudiera tener quenta de ninguna manera si no fuera con este pretexto la introduccion de ropa, porque no llevan arriba de cinquenta negros en un viage, y muchos vezes menos, todo lo demas son mercaderías como consta de dos exemplares descubiertos el uno en Sta Martha y el otro en Guatimala."

his post at Cartagena in 1721, had all such goods as could not receive injury from the treatment placed between decks until enough of the provisions had been consumed to permit of the goods being stored in the magazine. On her second voyage, two years later, the same vessel had been followed by another boat until the consumption of supplies enabled the cargo of the tender to be transferred to the licensed vessel.

Reviewing his experience in the various ports with whose commerce he had had time and opportunity to become acquainted, Burnet recalls that in Buenos Aires the captain and officials of the slave-ship on which he had travelled from Guinea had each had bales of merchandise and had either sold them on board the ship itself, or traded them at night on shore without a thought of paying the royal dues on the sums received in payment. The officials of an English warship that had come to bring the factors to the Buenos Aires station had behaved in a similar manner, as had also the captains, officials, and crews of three slave-vessels that had come into the harbor while he had been there. The amount of goods traded and the sums received in return it was impossible, the factor says, to calculate with accuracy, as the officers of the ships were more afraid of the company's representatives becoming cognizant of the true extent of their operations than they were of the Spanish customs officials. Throughout his three years of service as factor in Porto Bello not a packet-boat had arrived that did not carry contraband goods. Only one of these had been seized and searched, and that would not have occurred if the captain of the vessel had not failed to come to the usual understanding with the Spanish governor and royal officials concerning their share in the profits. When searched, the ship had been found to contain clothes, hosiery, and many other things. The factor confesses that he had frequently bought the cargo of such boats and had sent to Jamaica for goods for himself and others. The years spent at Cartagena had been marked by similar experiences. At times the cargoes of the permission-ships that were offered for sale had been measured by the customs officials who were under the impression that what they saw represented the vessel's full load of marketable wares whereas it was seldom more than one-third of the total cargo.

Burnet bears strong testimony to the support given by the warships from the Jamaican station to all English vessels engaged in contraband trade. On his arrival at Porto Bello in 1716, he had learned that there was an English warship then at Bastimentos which had escorted three slave-vessels to Porto Bello and would remain

near at hand until they were safely at sea again. This experience had been frequently repeated. For instance, whenever a certain well-known vessel of illicit trade appeared at Porto Bello it would always be found that a warship had arrived at the nearby Dutch port. So frequent was the appearance of English warships on the Spanish American coasts that in his three years at Porto Bello the funds of the company had never been remitted by any other kind of vessel. It was customary, the factor said, for the captain of the convoy to receive a certain percentage of the profits of the illicit trade of the vessels convoyed.

The English never had any difficulty in finding purchasers for their goods, Burnet further states, as they sold much more cheaply than the merchants who brought goods in the *flota*, and moreover, sometimes sold on credit, as the Spaniards never did. The effect of this constant introduction of foreign wares through illicit channels was most disastrous to the sale of goods from the Spanish galleons. Repeatedly the galleon merchants, because of the reluctance of the Peruvian agents to buy, or of their unwillingness to pay any but very small prices, found themselves obliged to send their goods all the way to Lima to find purchasers. This had often meant dangerous delay for the galleons. The English offended too in that they encouraged the contraband activities of the Dutch, who were omnipresent. At the time of the fair of 1721 there had been nine Dutch vessels at Bastimentos, for whose goods the Peruvians had kept half of their money, and had not *guarda costas* lately been active and captured twelve or thirteen Dutch vessels and a French boat the recent fair would have had to meet their competition again. Goods acquired from foreigners at the time of the *feria* were sent all over Spanish America under the guise of being either galleon goods or merchandise from the English permission-ship.

In the section "Sobre Extracciones y Sobre Passageros" the later account repeats the statement of the original paper that, whereas in the early years of the Asiento it had been the custom for the Spanish officials at Porto Bello to open the company's boxes containing gold and silver as they came from Panama on their way to the English ships and recount the contents, thus maintaining some check on the illegal export of metal, the English of late years had been able to stop this inconvenient practice by securing an order from the governor of Panama forbidding any re-examination of the boxes at Porto Bello. The result had been that never more than half of the silver exported through that port was registered. As one of the company's officials at Cartagena at the time of the two homeward-

bound trips of the *Royal George*, Burnet testifies that he personally had assisted in placing on board the vessel a great deal of unregistered gold and silver both for the company and for private individuals. Every packet-boat that had visited the port had been similarly loaded. The factor further draws the attention of the Spanish government to the success of the English in carrying their trading operations into the very camps of the richest mines, where they were supplying the miners with necessities and receiving in return gold and silver ore from which the legal fifth had not been taken. In the course of these operations the English were afforded an opportunity, of which they were making full use, to learn the exact quantity and quality of the metal produced by every Spanish American mine. To his original statement that a number of passengers had been illegally transported to Europe on board the *Royal George* on her first voyage, and that others had gone on packet-boats belonging to the company, Burnet, in the paper of later date, adds that he had certain knowledge that such practices took place, as, in his official capacity, he had often been in communication with such passengers in Jamaica and London and that their number was very considerable.

Under the heading "Sobre Navios de Permiso" Burnet swears that the *Royal George*, on being measured in 1721 after the fair had been held, exceeded the size permitted in the Asiento contract, and that this would also have been found to be true of the *Prince Frederick* had that vessel been measured. In his earlier statement the factor contents himself with saying that the measurement had not shown much excess;²⁶ he adds, in the later paper, that even if the permission-ships did not greatly exceed the permitted size, the practices of carrying goods between decks and sending supplementary vessels always doubled the cargo and profits contemplated by the contract. In the case of the *Prince Frederick* he declares that he has in his possession actual statements from the captains of the packet-boats that had followed that vessel into the harbor of Vera Cruz with contraband goods.²⁷ On his own account, as he had passed

²⁶ Cf. a paper entitled "Razon de las Quejas, y Noticias dadas sobre Excesos de los Navios del Asiento de Negros", in which the excess of the *Royal George*, according to the measurement of 1721, is stated to have been seventeen tons over the allowed six hundred and fifty. Sim., Est. 2525 (Antig. 7609).

²⁷ Cf. the following statement, drawn from a document sent by the Spanish secretary of state to the French ambassador in Madrid in which he sets forth Spain's grievances concerning the *Prince Frederick*: "Consta que lo que con pretexto de viveres que se ne emplazan al mencionado navio durante el tiempo de su demora en el Puerto se introducen con otras embarcaciones a medida que se descarga otra tanta cantidad mas de generos de la que a llevado." Sim., Est. 2526 (Antig. 7614).

through Jamaica on the way home, he had left merchandise to be carried to Vera Cruz and he had no doubt that it would go thither on the packet-boat that would carry provisions for the ship *Prince Frederick*.

The section entitled "De Hostilidades" is practically a transcript of that portion of the original paper bearing on the visit of Admiral Hosier's squadron to Cartagena and Porto Bello.²⁸ As Burnet had been delegated by the Cartagena factory to attend the admiral and had accompanied him to Porto Bello where he acted as interpreter in a message from the admiral to the Spanish governor, his evidence of the squadron's activities is of considerable interest.

The factor reports Hosier as having told him that his orders were simply to inquire into the welfare of the permission-ship and prevent the return to Europe of the Spanish galleons with their treasure, then at Porto Bello, until times were quiet again. While the main part of the English squadron anchored at Bastimentos, two ships, Burnet says, were placed as guard-ships at the entrance to the harbor of Porto Bello. All Spanish vessels, even down to canoes, that attempted to move, were chased, and, on being overtaken, if circumstances seemed to warrant the action, were carried to the admiral at Bastimentos for examination. In every case the correspondence of the captured Spanish boats was opened and read. One vessel overhauled as it was attempting to leave for Vera Cruz and carried to Bastimentos, another stopped as it came in from Havana loaded with tobacco, and three or four large canoes filled with provisions that were taken possession of, are especially mentioned. The total effect, the factor says, was to hinder all commerce with Chagres, Cartagena, and Vera Cruz and to bring great losses to the galleon merchants. The Peruvians retired with their money to Panama, where they offered less for galleon goods than at Porto Bello and in the end forced the Spanish merchants to go to the enormous expense of taking their goods to Lima for sale. The English remained at Bastimentos, Burnet says, "hasta que no tenian gente para alzar sus anclas", having lost from sickness more than 4000 sailors besides two admirals and a number of captains, and then returned to Jamaica. Under the caption "De Contravenciones", Burnet enumerates a number of minor ways in which the company was constantly violating the terms of the contract, among them, the practice of including among the slaves imported some from

²⁸ Hosier's squadron arrived in sight of Porto Bello on June 17, 1726.

Jamaica, instead of bringing all from the Guinea coast,²⁹ and the fact that the company was not bringing the full 4800 *piezas de Indias* per annum as it had undertaken to do.³⁰

In the portion "De los Jamaycanos", Burnet declares that the English islanders and the Dutch were carrying on a very considerable contraband trade along the rivers Magdalena and Hacha and had also established about one hundred families in the bay and coast which runs from Cape Catoche to the Gulf of Honduras, where they were engaged in cutting dyewood. Many ships and sloops were employed, he says, in this traffic and were usually under the convoy of a ship of war. While he had been at Cartagena the Spanish governor of that place had armed a privateer to hinder this illicit traffic and would have been successful in suppressing it if it had not been for an English warship called the *Diamond*, which had seized the privateer and carried it and its crew for trial to Jamaica on the pretext that there were on board some well-known runaway slaves.

At the close of his original statement Burnet presents a constructive programme. To lessen the volume of contraband trade, he suggests that the Spanish government should see that a more frequent and abundant supply of goods from Spain by way of the *flota* should reach American shores, and that an adequate number of *guarda costas*, capable of seizing whatever foreign vessels might appear on the coast, should be maintained. To provide for the introduction of the necessary slaves, after a way had been found to cancel the agreement with England, he believes that the Asiento privileges should be granted to a Spanish company, either to an organization with headquarters at Seville or to the existing Caracas company, and Havana declared a free port for slaves. These suggestions are

²⁹ This had long constituted a subject of dispute between the company and the Spanish government. The company claimed that it, and all former asientists, had always used Jamaica as a stopping-place on the way from Guinea to the Spanish American coast and that it was impossible otherwise to live up to the terms of the Asiento which called for only healthy negroes, as all ships, as they came from Africa, were affected with smallpox. When a cedula, dated Oct. 20, 1724, forbade the entrance of any slaves from the British colonies, importation had wholly ceased until a modification of the original order, permitting a stop-over of four months in Jamaica, was secured in a cedula of July 28, 1725. The dispute had, however, continued, the Spaniards claiming that the company used the stay in Jamaica to introduce slaves from that and other islands instead of importing only fresh negroes from Africa.

³⁰ The company claimed that its task was made impossibly difficult by the obstructions offered by the Spanish American port-officials, by the fact that great numbers of negroes were introduced through illicit channels, the Spanish government doing nothing to hinder the contraband frauds, and by the regulations confining the sales of company negroes to certain places only.

wholly omitted from the six later statements as compiled under Spanish supervision.

The six statements were signed by Burnet on February 15, 1729. In sending them to Barrenechea the factor included a paper entitled "*Reflexiones de Comercio en General en las Indias*". This is, however, merely a series of general statements of no great originality or importance, concerning the French, Dutch, English, and Spanish colonies in the New World.³¹ Of far greater interest to the Spanish authorities was the factor's offer to send instructions to his wife in Cartagena to gather all of his commercial papers and forward them secretly by a Spanish vessel to Spain.³² When this offer bore fruit in the following October and the promised box arrived and was delivered to the Spanish secretary of state, that minister wrote that the papers "*comprueban y aclaran mucha parte del comercio ilícito que los directores del Asiento han executado los años pasados en Cartagena, Panama, y Porto Bello*".³³

Thus each of the English company's officials, who were induced to abandon allegiance to its interests, provided the Spanish authorities with a bundle of original papers of an incriminating character and a sworn statement which summarized their contents, and in return was given Spanish protection and financial compensation.

The official announcement of Burnet's pension was dated March 28, 1729. By April 15 Barrenechea was writing to Madrid that the publication in England of a letter, whose details had been furnished by Plowes, denouncing the directors of the South Sea Company, had aroused suspicions that someone with an intimate knowledge of the company's affairs had turned traitor, and that he thought it possible that this was the explanation of an order to Plowes to return immediately to London, and of a letter to Burnet from some friend in England reminding him of the loyalty that he owed the organization for which he worked. Plowes, the minister wrote, had been greatly disturbed, but had been quieted by his advice to secure delay by claiming that a surgeon advised him to undergo a surgical operation and, if this were found not to be sufficient, to resign his employment.³⁴ Both officials were sufficiently successful in averting disaster so that six months later they were still in the employ of the company. Nemesis, however, finally overtook them, for two years more found them both out of employment and begging for the payment of the arrears of their Spanish pensions. Plowes, having sac-

³¹ Sim., Est. 2370 (Antig. 7017). Burnet to Barrenechea, Feb. 15, 1729.

³² *Ibid.* John Burnet to Doña Isabel Moclair y Burnet, Feb. 7, 1729.

³³ *Ibid.* Paz to Patiño, Seville, Oct. 5, 1729.

³⁴ *Ibid.* Barrenechea to Paz, Apr. 15, 1729.

rified friends, employment, and reputation, was said to be in Paris "without resources for the needs of himself and numerous family".³⁵ Burnet was somewhat better off, for, although his first petition, that he should be made an inspector and director-general of the factories of the Caracas company, had not been granted,³⁶ a second request, begging for the title of *médico de cámara* for himself, and a position in the Spanish navy for his nephew, was regarded favorably by the Spanish secretary of state, who officially recommended that the petition should be granted.³⁷ With this notice the two traitorous Englishmen disappear from history as it is preserved in the papers available at Simancas, having in their time provided the Spaniards with such an intimate knowledge of the record of the South Sea Company that the logical conclusion of the succeeding decade was the war with which it actually closed.

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³⁵ Est. 2370. Patiño to the king, Aug. 30, 1731.

³⁶ Burnet to (Paz?), Paris, Mar. 2, 1729.

³⁷ *Ibid.* Paz to Patiño, May 19, 1731.

FRENCH PUBLIC OPINION ON WAR WITH PRUSSIA IN 1870

ALTHOUGH the government of the Second Empire is commonly charged with lack of wisdom during the July crisis of 1870, the declaration of war against Prussia is usually attributed to the pressure of public opinion.¹ French writers, however, are divided upon this important question. Those who held office under the Second Empire had an obvious motive in attributing the responsibility to public opinion,² while those who were members of the opposition or who later accepted that point of view are equally eager to place the blame upon the government.³ In the absence of an impartial study of the sources of contemporary opinion, serious misunderstanding has been written into history. Public opinion was not so clearly in favor of war as has been generally believed; the government anticipated and even manufactured opinion rather than followed it. Paris was not inflamed by the publication of the Ems

¹ This interpretation seems to have had its origin in a pamphlet published before the end of the war. Fernand Girardeau, *La Vérité sur la Campagne de 1870-1871* (Marseilles, 1871). "C'est entre le 12 et le 14 qu'elle [the war] fut moralement déclarée, non par la volonté du ministère, mais par la volonté impérieuse, impatiente du pays, s'exprimant à la fois par tous ses organes: Chambre, presse, et manifestations publiques" (p. 58). This pamphlet is cited in the following books: Albert Sorel, *Histoire Diplomatique de la Guerre Franco-Allemande* (Paris, 1875), I. 147, 197; Comte Vincent de Benedetti, *Ma Mission en Prusse* (Paris, 1871), p. 410; Pierre de La Gorce, *Histoire du Second Empire* (Paris, 1899-1905), VI. 232; J. H. Rose, *Development of the European Nations* (New York, 1905), I. 49; R. H. Lord, *The Origins of the War of 1870* (Cambridge, 1924), p. 286. Girardeau was an official in the Ministry of the Interior under the Second Empire, and his purpose was frankly to clear Napoleon of all responsibility. To this end he culled numerous extracts from contemporary newspapers and arranged them to support his thesis.

² Benedetti, *Ma Mission en Prusse*, pp. 367, 368; Duc de Gramont, *La Prusse et la France avant la Guerre* (Paris, 1872), pp. 130, 211; Émile Ollivier, *L'Empire Libéral* (Paris, 1894-1915), XIV. 50, 461. The point of view of these officials of the Empire is shared by a later writer. B. E. Palat, *Les Origines de la Guerre de 1870* (Paris, 1912), p. 518.

³ The majority of French writers have been very severe in their criticism of the government's policy. Sorel, *Histoire Diplomatique*, I. 147, 197; Henri Berton, *L'Évolution Constitutionnelle du Second Empire* (Paris, 1900), p. 728; I. Tchernoff, *Le Parti Républicain au Coup d'État et sous le Second Empire* (Paris, 1906), p. 594; La Gorce, *Histoire du Second Empire*, VI. 263, 314; Henri Salomon, *L'Incident Hohenzollern* (Paris, 1922), pp. 174-179; H. Welschinger, *La Guerre de 1870* (Paris, 1910), I. 91.

despatch, and the government did not consider the contents of that famous document sufficient to make the war popular.

The Austro-Prussian War of 1866, in justifying Bismarck's policy of blood and iron, disappointed the opposition in France⁴ and thereby strengthened the influence of Thiers and his friends, who had long opposed German unity. Partly to embarrass the government in domestic politics, they represented Sadowa as the equivalent of a French defeat and advocated vigorous measures to prevent further increase of Prussian power. Nevertheless, a part of the opposition was disposed to accept German unity as inevitable.⁵ This uncertainty was reflected in the government's policy. Committed to the principle of nationalism, it announced officially that the formation of the North German Confederation was satisfactory and even advantageous to France.⁶ Napoleon's efforts to secure territorial compensation, however, aroused doubt as to the government's sincerity, and a few newspapers were allowed to prejudice the stability of peace.⁷ After a period of suspicion and alarm opinion was clearly more confident in the maintenance of peace during the early months of 1870. Domestic politics absorbed public interest as a result of the parliamentary election of 1869 and the plebiscite of May, 1870. Moreover, the creation of the Ollivier cabinet in January apparently placed imperial sanction upon that minister's friendly attitude toward German unity.

⁴ The liberal movement for German unity had the warm support of the *Temps*. May 1, 1861; Apr. 16, May 21, 1862; Jan. 27, 1864; Aug. 12, 1865.

⁵ Although the *Temps* had favored diplomatic intervention during the war, it later accepted the prospect of a united Germany as an undesirable necessity. The *Temps*, June 11, 1867; Mar. 25, 1869. The best answer France could make to the growth of Prussian influence was, in its opinion, to assume the leadership of European liberalism. *Ibid.*, Aug. 22, 1866.

⁶ Circulaire du Marquis de la Valette aux Agents Diplomatiques, Paris, Sept. 16, 1866. *Les Origines de la Guerre de 1870-1871* (ed. A. Aulard, Paris, 1910-1925), XII. 301-307.

⁷ The following editors and their newspapers were most active in this campaign: B. A. and Paul Granier de Cassagnac, the *Pays*; Clément Duvernois, the *Peuple Français*; Émile de Girardin, the *Liberté*. Girardin wrote in the *Liberté*, July 20, 1868: "La presse est pacifique . . . le courant est pacifique, il faudrait donc le remonter. Mais, en 1859, avant le départ de l'Empereur pour l'Italie, l'opinion générale était contre la guerre. Un instant suffit pour que l'opinion se retournât. Il ne tarderait pas à en être ainsi, et, sous peine d'impopularité, l'opposition serait promptement contrainte de changer d'attitude et de langage." Émile de Girardin, *La Guerre Fatale prévue et annoncée en 1868* (Paris, 1870), pp. 41, 42. Of these editors, the Cassagnacs had close relations with the war party at court. Girardin was appointed to the Senate on July 27, 1870, for his services as a publicist. Welschinger, *La Guerre de 1870*, I. 73, 74, note. Duvernois had the Emperor's confidence. Anatole Claveaux, *Souvenirs Politiques et Parlementaires par un Témoin, 1865-1870* (Paris, 1913), p. 393.

The reports, which the prefects sent each month to the minister of the interior, contain an unmined wealth of information as to the reaction of public opinion in the provinces to the German question. It is probable that some of these officials were more interested in pleasing their superiors, upon whose favors they depended for advancement, than in giving correct information.⁸ These documents must therefore be used with caution; but the reports from twenty departments, chosen as representative of the various regions of France, testify so uniformly to a general desire for peace that the reliability of this evidence can not be questioned. The peasants were represented as indifferent to all questions that did not have a direct bearing upon their economic interests, and accordingly it was held that they, as well as the townspeople, were overwhelmingly in favor of a neutral policy during the Austro-Prussian War.⁹ Desire for compensations after 1866 was occasionally reported, but always with the reservation that war should not be resorted to as a means of gaining them.¹⁰ Rumors of difficulties in the effort to gain territory on the Rhine and the various schemes for the reform of the army aroused a persistent uneasiness and concern for the future.¹¹ This state of mind was reported as responsible for the chronic economic depression in the industrial regions of Lyons, Rouen, Lille, and Mulhouse,

⁸ Jules Simon wrote in 1874: "il arrive trois fois sur quatre que les inférieurs donnent à leurs chefs, au lieu des renseignements qui pourraient les éclairer, les renseignements qu'ils supposent devoir leur plaire. Si donc les préfets ont attesté que les départements voulaient la paix, c'est que l'opinion publique se prononçait d'une façon irréfutable." *Souvenirs du Quatre Septembre 1870 et Chute du Second Empire* (Paris, 1874), p. 174. An Alsatian newspaper questioned in 1868 the reliability of the government's information in regard to public opinion: "où nous vivons, on ne dit pas sa façon de penser au premier venu. . . . Les fonctionnaires, outre qu'ils ne savent pas grande chose de l'opinion publique, ont à toutes les époques été optimistes dans le sens du pouvoir. Quand on fait un rapport du petit au grand, on veut être agréable à son supérieur." *The Industriel Alsacien* (Mulhouse), Apr. 16, 1868.

⁹ Archives nationales: Administration Générale, Esprit Public et Élections. Série départementale. F¹c-III: Loire-Inférieure 8, July 10, 1866; Loir-et-Cher 6, June 1, 1866; Sarthe 7, May 1, Aug. 1, Oct. 2, 1866; Meurthe 8, June 7, July 3, 1866; Seine-Inférieure 8, Mar. 27, May 1, 1866; Haute-Garonne 9, July 6, 1866; Rhône 5, July 17, Aug. 22, 1866; Puy-de-Dôme 7, July 1, 1866; Haut-Rhin 7, Feb. 4, 1866.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, F¹c-III: Haute-Garonne 9, Aug. 6, 1866; Savoie 1, Apr. 8, 1867; Côte d'Or 7, June 4, 1866.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, F¹c-III: Vaucluse 6, December, 1867; Bas-Rhin 8, May 5, 1868; Loire-Inférieure 8, Oct. 10, 1867; Bouches-du-Rhône 7, July 8, 1868. Many prefects reported that the reassurances of the government failed to quiet these fears.

and in the commercial centre of Marseilles.¹² Capital was everywhere reported as timid and as reluctant to invest in long-term enterprises. This situation, so reported the prefect of the Haut-Rhin in July, 1869, made a more definite foreign policy necessary.¹³

A few reports represent business men and industrialists as in favor even of war as a solution of their difficulties. The following statement by the prefect of the Seine-Inférieure in April, 1867, is typical of this point of view, which after all was exceptional: "Industry and commerce are suffering from the period of uncertainty we are now passing through and a definite solution, even if it were war, would be preferable."¹⁴ But an examination of these documents shows convincingly that there was no real desire in the provinces that the government should precipitate a war with Prussia. There is abundant evidence, however, that war was thought of as a catastrophe which might be imposed upon the country by the government's mistakes. Such was the opinion of the *Temps* in January, 1868:

Public opinion remains convinced that the government harbors secret intentions in spite of its assurances of peace; this belief is revealed by the uneasiness of capital, the restriction of credit, and the increasing depression of industry and commerce. The country fears war because it feels that the government of France has committed grave faults, that it has suffered serious checks, and that it has need therefore of *une grande revanche*.¹⁵

Nevertheless there was apparently little reason to fear a war with Prussia in the spring of 1870. The government was confident, according to Ollivier, that Prussia had no intention of attacking France, that unless France deliberately provoked a war peace would be maintained.¹⁶ Confidence in the maintenance of peace was expressed by the reduction of ten thousand in the annual contingent of recruits, and Ollivier assured the Chamber that the government had no reason for alarm, that not a cloud threatened the peace of Europe.¹⁷

There was, however, a party with influence at court and in the press which was eager for a crisis with Prussia. The future of the

¹² *Ibid.*, F¹^c-III: Rhône 5, Mar. 23, 1868; Seine-Inférieure 9, Apr. 30, 1867, Apr. 3, Aug. 1, Oct. 1, 1868; Nord 8, Oct. 4, 1866, Apr. 6, June 4, 1867; Bouches-du-Rhône 7, Mar. 1867, June 5, July 8, 1868; Haut-Rhin 7, Mar. 1, Sept. 1, Oct. 1, 1867.

¹³ *Ibid.*, F¹^c-III: Haut-Rhin 7, July 1, 1869.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, F¹^c-III: Seine-Inférieure 9, Apr. 30, 1867. Cf. F¹^c-III: Rhône 5, April, 1867; Bas-Rhin 8, Mar. 6, May 5, 1868.

¹⁵ *Temps*, Jan. 24, 1868.

¹⁶ Ollivier, *L'Empire Libéral*, XII. 329.

¹⁷ *Annales du Sénat et du Corps Législatif*, 1870, 5, Corps Législatif, séance du 30 juin 1870, p. 311.

Empire was by no means guaranteed by the immense majority which it won in the plebiscite of May, 1870.¹⁸ The opposition, which was in control of Paris and all of the important provincial cities, immediately inaugurated a vigorous campaign in preparation for the approaching municipal elections.¹⁹ It also turned to the task of weaning the peasants away from the Empire to which they were attached by custom and by economic interest rather than by loyalty to Napoleon.²⁰ A war with Prussia would probably unite all shades of opinion in support of the Empire,²¹ and, furthermore, by reviving its failing prestige, provide a favorable setting for the succession of the Prince Imperial.²²

The revived Hohenzollern candidature was brought to the attention of Napoleon and of Gramont about the middle of June.²³ They did not then take it seriously, and it was not until July 3, when Leopold's acceptance was confirmed in Paris, that the crisis was precipitated. An important difference soon developed between Gramont and Ollivier in their respective estimates of the candidature's influence upon the relations between France and Prussia.²⁴ Ollivier saw in it an imminent danger to France and was perhaps determined to restrict the government's policy to its defeat.²⁵ Gramont, on the

¹⁸ Léopold de Gaillard, *La Leçon du Plébiscite* (Paris, 1870), pp. 15, 16.

¹⁹ *Siècle*, July 5.

²⁰ The *Mémorial des Deux Sèvres* (Niort) called upon the democratic party to undertake their political education in order to remove the dangerous antagonism between the cities and rural districts. June 16, 1870. In the opinion of the *Progrès de la Côte d'Or* (Dijon), the opposition would win the peasant's vote if he were convinced that his products would continue to sell at good prices, and that there would be no socialistic experiments. May 27, 1870.

²¹ This point of view was emphasized by the *Nain Jaune* (July 7), a newspaper devoted to the task of rallying labor to the Empire.

²² This was of course an important consideration, in view of the Emperor's health, in influencing the Empress Eugénie in favor of war. Salomon, *L'Incident Hohenzollern*, p. 213. The *Mémorial des Deux Sèvres* suspected warlike intentions on the part of the government after the plebiscite: "on se demande si le pouvoir, qui s'est fortifié à l'intérieure, n'a pas maintenant la tentation de compléter l'expérience et d'éprouver la solidité de sa poigne à l'extérieure." May 21, 1870.

²³ Napoleon had Gramont write to the French ambassador at Madrid for information. Salomon, *L'Incident Hohenzollern*, p. 32. The candidature was mentioned in the *Journal des Débats*, June 17.

²⁴ According to the *Avenir National*, July 12, this division was reflected by the press.

²⁵ Ollivier told the Corps Législatif that the government would be content with a withdrawal of the candidature. *Annales*, 1870, 5, Corps Législatif, séance du 6 juillet, p. 350. This relatively moderate position is not easily reconciled with the reports which Metternich, the Austrian ambassador, was sending to Vienna. He wrote to Beust, July 8: "J'en reste à dire que toute cette affaire

other hand, apparently did not believe that Leopold would succeed in establishing himself as the king of Spain. He told Werther on the fourth that a civil war would expel the Hohenzollern prince within six months,²⁶ and, in a telegram to Benedetti at Ems on the seventh, he declared that Leopold would not be in Spain more than a month.²⁷ This opinion, coupled with his statement, in the same telegram, that the king's refusal to veto the candidature would mean war, revealed the intention of precipitating a crisis with Prussia. He represented the situation to Ollivier and probably to Napoleon as of the utmost importance and as demanding vigorous measures.²⁸

It was Thiers, however, who unwittingly furnished the occasion for Gramont's aggressive declaration of July 6. Although convinced that a day of reckoning with Prussia was inevitable, he did not then consider the international situation favorable, and, doubtful of the government's capacity to deal with the crisis effectively, he inspired a fellow deputy to propose an interpellation on the fifth in order to introduce the check of parliamentary control.²⁹ Instead of moderating the situation, Gramont's declaration changed a question, which might have been limited to Spain, into an international crisis. Prussia was unmistakably charged with the responsibility for the candidature, and a threat of war by France was not less clearly made as a means of preventing its success. The honor of the two nations was now involved, with the result that it became difficult, if not impossible, for either to yield without an open acknowledgment of diplomatic defeat. The majority of the Corps Législatif of course

hispano-prussienne me paraît avoir été prise par les cheveux dans un but de succès diplomatique et de quasi-humiliation pour la Prusse." Even Ollivier is represented as more belligerent than is usually believed. He declared to Metternich: "Nous en avons assez des humiliations que la Prusse veut nous imposer. . . . Nous avons décidé comme un seul homme qu'il fallait marcher, nous avons entraîné la Chambre, nous entraînerons la nation." H. Temperley, "Three Despatches of Prince Metternich on the Origins of the War of 1870", *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVIII. 93, 94. Ollivier, it seems, was in part responsible for the more extreme portion of the declaration of July 6. Welschinger, *La Guerre de 1870*, I. 52. He also allowed Gramont to influence him in favor of the demand for guaranties on the twelfth. P. Muret, "Émile Ollivier et le Duc de Gramont les 12 et 13 juillet 1870", *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, XIV. 181.

²⁶ "An sieht glaubt der Herzog von Gramont nicht, dass ein Prinz von Hohenzollern sich länger als 6 Monate auf dem spanischen Throne halten würde. Bürgerkrieg, Coalition der verschiedenen Parteien würden ihn davon vertrieben." Baron von Werther, ambassador at Paris, to King William, Paris, July 5, 1870. Lord, *Origins of the War of 1870*, pp. 126, 127.

²⁷ Benedetti, *Ma Mission en Prusse*, p. 320.

²⁸ Ollivier, *L'Empire Libéral*, XIV. 23.

²⁹ Alfred Darimon, *Les Cent Seize et le Ministère du 2 Janvier* (Paris, 1889), p. 392; Ollivier, *L'Empire Libéral*, XIV. 77.

received the declaration with enthusiasm. The Russian chargé d'affaires told his Prussian colleague that he had never seen the chamber so excited.³⁰

In order to relieve the ministry of responsibility for this declaration, which was to result in war and disaster, Ollivier later defended it not only as a legitimate answer to the candidature but also as made necessary by the pressure of public opinion.³¹ His defense that the government's hand was forced by public opinion can not stand. He quotes from the reports of Lyons and Metternich in support of his thesis without making it clear that they wrote in the midst of the excitement which was in part caused by the government's declaration.³²

It is, however, in the newspapers published between the third and the sixth of July that the true reaction of opinion is to be found. Ollivier quotes from eleven newspapers in proof of popular indignation against the candidature, and he cites only the *Journal des Débats* as refusing to be excited.³³ There is, of course, no indication that the press was pleased, but the protest which was aroused was inspired by the government.³⁴ There is little evidence, however, that the newspapers favored a policy which might lead to war. The *Pays*, the most extreme of the pro-war press, declared on the fourth that diplomacy should be able to solve the question.³⁵ The *Soir*, whose voice was to be one of the loudest among those clamoring for war, seemed to be more amused than alarmed.³⁶ Another pro-war newspaper, the *France*, thought that the need of consulting the Cortes

³⁰ Count von Solms to the Foreign Office at Berlin, Paris, July 6, 1870. Lord, *Origins of the War of 1870*, p. 135.

³¹ Ollivier, *L'Empire Libéral*, XIV. 50, 110, 111.

³² Metternich's report was written on the fifteenth. *Ibid.*, XIV. 35, 36. Lyons in fact wrote to Granville on the seventh that "The declaration, however, forcible as it was, did not go at all beyond the feeling of the country". *British and Foreign State Papers*, 1869-1870, LX. 792. Gramont told Lyons that afternoon that "His speech was, in fact, as regarded the interior of France, absolutely necessary; and diplomatic considerations must yield to public safety at home". *Ibid.*, LX. 793.

³³ Ollivier, *L'Empire Libéral*, XIV. 40-45.

³⁴ Gramont stated in a note to Ollivier, July 3: "Dès demain nous commencerons dans la Presse une campagne prudente mais efficace." *Ibid.*, XIV. 27.

³⁵ *Pays*, July 5. The evening papers were dated for the following day. According to Ollivier, this newspaper was secretly financed by government money in 1869. Ollivier, *L'Empire Libéral*, XII. 270.

³⁶ "Mais l'Espagne à un Prussien, petit-fils d'une Murat! Le trône de Charles-Quint à un Hohenzollern! Cela est comique, à force d'être invraisemblable!" *Soir*, July 5.

moderated the seriousness of the situation.³⁷ The *Patrie*, an administration and later a pro-war journal, declared that the government's support of nationalism left neutrality as the only possible policy.³⁸ According to the *Liberté*, there was no serious danger that Leopold would ever be the king of Spain.³⁹ The *Presse* urged a policy of reserve and suggested that the European powers should intervene.⁴⁰

The opposition press was of course even more moderate, and it was the judgment of the *Temps* on the fifth that "while irritated, the majority of newspapers declare that the only possible policy for France in the Spanish crisis is abstention and neutrality".⁴¹ Ollivier reveals the true reason for the declaration in attempting to refute the charge that it virtually meant war. "It was", he writes, "a preparation for an attack, and not in itself the first blow; it was not the signal gun for the beginning of a battle, it was an alarm calling for aid."⁴² It was obviously intended to mobilize opinion. The *Soir* declared that the government had not allowed sufficient time for opinion to develop.⁴³ According to the *Avenir National*, "The Hohenzollern candidature occurred so unexpectedly that public opinion had no time to express itself before Gramont's precipitate declaration suddenly created a desire for war".⁴⁴ The *Presse* admitted that the government anticipated opinion on the candidature in

³⁷ The necessity of securing the consent of the Cortes "modifie notablement la question et lui enlève le caractère d'imminence qu'elle avait d'abord revêtu". *France*, July 6.

³⁸ *Patrie*, July 5. This newspaper was, according to Ollivier, the organ of Chevandier de Valdrôme, the minister of the interior, who in general followed the policy of his chief. Ollivier, *L'Empire Libéral*, XIV. 258.

³⁹ After the candidature had been confirmed by an inspired statement in the *Constitutionnel*, July 4, this journal declared: "Ce serait faire injure au peuple espagnol que d'y ajouter foi." *Liberté*, July 5.

⁴⁰ "Seulement, ce que la politique française ne peut pas, il appartient à l'Europe de le faire." *Presse*, July 5. It declared on the following day: "Nous serions désolés que le gouvernement vit un *casus belli* dans l'acceptation du prince de Hohenzollern." *Ibid.*, July 6.

⁴¹ In its opinion, past mistakes left the government no other choice than resignation: "C'est le souvenir du Mexique qui pèse toujours sur la situation présente. Après avoir si malheureusement tenté d'imposer un prince autrichien aux Mexicains le gouvernement impérial peut-il vouloir essayer d'empêcher les Espagnols de se donner un roi prussien?" *Temps*, July 6.

⁴² Ollivier, *L'Empire Libéral*, XIV. 111.

⁴³ "L'opinion n'a pas eu le temps d'être saisie de la question, que déjà les représentants du pays étaient prévenus officiellement des intentions du gouvernement." *Soir*, July 8.

⁴⁴ "Le premier mouvement de surprise passé . . . de déjà cette opinion publique à laquelle on n'avait pas voulu laisser le temps de se produire, perce de toutes parts. De tous côtés on se demande quelle nécessité pressante a poussé le gouvernement à agir avec tant de précipitation." *Avenir National*, July 11.

order to bring an end to the nation's humiliations at the hands of Prussia. "It is for this reason that the first act of our diplomacy has been precisely to abandon the methods of diplomacy and to call upon the national sentiment."⁴⁵

The more extreme of the pro-war newspapers, the *Pays*, the *Soir*, the *Presse*, the *Opinion Nationale*, were unreserved in their approval of the declaration.⁴⁶ Their support was given, however, not because the declaration was a necessary move in defeating the Hohenzollern candidature, but because it brought to a focus the outstanding issues between the two governments. Ollivier admits that the press as a whole did not share his opinion that the candidature was the sole question at issue.⁴⁷ The *Soir* declared on the evening of the sixth that Prim's plans would not be easily carried out. "What the French government wishes to destroy once and for all is the mysterious policy followed by the Berlin Cabinet."⁴⁸ The *Liberté* found Leopold personally so insignificant that his candidature was not dangerous; but, on the other hand, there was a real threat in Prussia's ambitions. "If the possession of the left bank of the Rhine must be the answer, well, let us profit by the present occasion to demand it, by diplomatic methods if possible, or by war if necessary."⁴⁹ According to the *Moniteur Universel*, the least that could satisfy France would be the execution of the treaty of Prague in spirit and letter.⁵⁰ The *Pays* declared:

⁴⁵ *Presse*, July 13.

⁴⁶ The Prussian chargé d'affaires noticed that the government press was chiefly responsible for the increasing agitation. Count von Solms to Bismarck, Paris, July 7. Lord, *Origins of the War of 1870*, p. 143. Fester's clippings from the Paris press are too few to give an adequate understanding of its reaction to the declaration. Moreover all were printed after July 6. Richard Fester, *Briefe, Aktenstücke, Regesten zur Geschichte der Hohenzollernschen Thronkandidatur in Spanien* (Leipzig, 1913), I. 1-3, 20-21, 35-36, 72, 113, 151.

⁴⁷ "La presse et l'opinion française . . . étaient dans l'erreur lorsque établissant un rapport de dépendance entre cette candidature et les événements de 1866, elles la repoussaient comme la dernière goutte, insignifiante en elle-même, redoutable seulement parce qu'elle tombe dans un vase plein." Ollivier, *L'Empire Libéral*, XIV. 76, 77.

⁴⁸ The *Soir* was not at this time in favor of war at any price. A firm stand upon the declaration would, in its opinion, accomplish the desired result. It even doubted Bismarck's desire of war, but it suspected an intention on his part to make use of French absorption with domestic problems in order to develop his own plans. It declared that "La France entière veut la paix". *Soir*, July 7.

⁴⁹ *Liberté*, July 8.

⁵⁰ In its opinion, Bismarck was only interested in the candidature as a means of forcing France to consent to changes in Germany. *Moniteur Universel*, July 10. This newspaper had been, according to Ollivier, the government's official organ until 1869, and afterwards it remained friendly. Ollivier, *L'Empire Libéral*, XII. 266.

As we have always said and as we continue to maintain, the Hohenzollern affair no longer exists; it has been displaced by the Franco-Prussian affair. Leopold will probably refuse the throne but that will change nothing in the serious problems which confront us . . . For four years we have been on a war footing, we do not dare to undertake any considerable financial task.⁵¹

Opposition to the declaration was stronger than would appear from Ollivier's account.⁵² It was equivalent, in the opinion of the left, to a declaration of war.⁵³ The *Liberté* at first suspected an ulterior motive on the part of the government when it attributed the candidature to Prussia. It was the opinion of this journal that the moment had not arrived "d'entonner la Marseillaise et de crier aux armes".⁵⁴ The *Français*, a liberal Catholic newspaper and the organ of the Left Centre, of which Ollivier had formerly been a member, at first opposed a policy which would make the candidature an issue between France and Prussia; but the declaration, in its opinion, made union in support of the government an imperative necessity. "Menaces may be regrettable but it would be still more regrettable if our enemies had reason to believe us divided in support of them."⁵⁵ It confessed that the government had presented the country with an accomplished fact, but the time for argument had passed. "The word of France has been publicly given, it must be kept; her honor has been engaged, it must be defended; her flag has been unfurled, we must rally to it."⁵⁶ The *Temps* rejected this

⁵¹ *Pays*, July 12. The *Journal des Débats* was confident that no one in Germany would take the provocations of this newspaper seriously, for it was very little read even in Paris. July 9.

⁵² At least ten publications from first to last expressed disapproval: *Temps*, *Journal des Débats*, *Français*, *Électeur Libre*, *Réveil*, *Rappel*, *Avenir National*, *Siècle*, and *Revue des Deux Mondes*.

⁵³ This effect of the declaration persuaded a fraction of the press to support a war policy. Its reaction may be traced in the *Presse*. On the sixth, it charged French diplomacy with the responsibility. "Mais que la France s'arme parce que sa diplomatie a été impuissante ou aveugle; qu'elle sacrifie un milliard et qu'elle se venge d'un affront par un coup de force n'est pas admissible." *Presse*, July 7. The next day it expressed the opinion that nothing could be done. "Les résolutions du gouvernement sont en effet tellement formelles; elles ont été exposées en des termes si explicites, qu'il est permis de le dire: L'avenir ne nous appartient plus. Nous avons enchaîné notre volonté, notre honneur, nos forces à un ultimatum que nous ne saurions retirer sans honte." *Ibid.*, July 8. It was generally regarded in the Corps Législatif as meaning war. *Enquête Parlementaire sur les Actes du Gouvernement de la Défense Nationale* (Versailles, 1872), I. 6, Déposition de M. Thiers.

⁵⁴ *Liberté*, July 7.

⁵⁵ *Français*, July 10.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, July 8. The next day, however, it advised moderation to the Chamber, to public opinion and to the press. "Avant tout sans doute, l'honneur de la France. Mais—cet honneur une fois sauf—avant tout la paix!" *Ibid.*, July 9.

lead and declared that the government was deliberately seeking a pretext for war.⁵⁷ A revolutionary journal, the *Réveil*, invited the government to refer the question of peace or war to a plebiscite.⁵⁸ According to the *Siècle*, the government had acted like a willful child.⁵⁹ The Paris correspondent of the *Indépendance Belge*, whose sympathies were obviously with the opposition, wrote on the eleventh: "The opinion is gaining ground that if the government succeeds in obtaining complete satisfaction in regard to the Hohenzollern affair it will seek a quarrel with Prussia on another issue."⁶⁰ The *Pays* can not be suspected of interest in exaggerating the strength of moderate opinion; while asserting that national sentiment endorsed the government's policy, it confessed that "the press, which fortunately is not France, does not share this movement to the same degree."⁶¹ The Paris press was, in fact, distinctly less belligerent between the sixth and the twelfth than has been thought.⁶²

Prince Anthony's renunciation on behalf of his son, news of which arrived in Paris on the afternoon of the twelfth, was accepted by Ollivier as satisfactory. He immediately informed a group of deputies and journalists in the lobby of the Chamber that the crisis was at an end.⁶³ A sense of relief among the business classes was at once evident from a sharp rise in quotations on the Bourse.⁶⁴ Unfortunately, the indirect way in which the information reached Paris made it difficult for Gramont to convince European opinion that he had forced William's hand, and thus his efforts to win a brilliant diplomatic victory had apparently failed.⁶⁵ He was in conference

⁵⁷ *Temps*, July 9.

⁵⁸ *Réveil*, July 12. The *Progrès* of Lyons also asked that all classes be consulted. July 13.

⁵⁹ *Siècle*, July 8.

⁶⁰ *Indépendance Belge*, July 11, 13.

⁶¹ *Pays*, July 8.

⁶² According to the Paris correspondent of the London *Times*, the government could not, if it would, restrain the eagerness of the people and army for war. But this desire for war existed, he thought, merely as a means of defeating the candidature. The war-at-any-price party was "noisy out of all proportion to its real strength, and the vast majority of Frenchmen, though ready enough for war if necessary, will be quite content if Prussia caves in and Prince Leopold is withdrawn". *Times*, July 9.

⁶³ Ollivier, *L'Empire Libéral*, XIV. 229-234. The *Constitutionnel* announced, the following morning, that peace was certain, that the government's demands had been satisfied. July 13. According to the *Indépendance Belge*, the renunciation "avait été d'abord acceptée avec une sorte d'enthousiasme à Paris", but fears of war were revived when the government made no official confirmation of Ollivier's policy of acceptance. July 14.

⁶⁴ *Avenir National*, July 14.

⁶⁵ The renunciation was at least in part the result of the king's advice. Lord, *Origins of the War of 1870*, pp. 53, 69.

with Werther on the afternoon of the twelfth when he first heard of the renunciation; without consulting Ollivier, he informed the Prussian ambassador that it was unsatisfactory, sketched the famous note of apology, and finally, at seven that evening, after a conference with the Emperor, sent the fatal telegram to Benedetti instructing him to demand guaranties.⁶⁶

Gramont, of course, acted without knowledge of the reaction of public opinion to the renunciation, for it was not until the evening journals appeared that there was any newspaper comment. The pro-war press was bitterly disappointed. The Cabinet was denounced as "le ministère de la honte", the renunciation as "un succès dérisoire", and much was made of the fact that the renunciation came from "le père Antoine". Nevertheless, at least fifteen newspapers showed a willingness on the thirteenth and fourteenth to accept the situation.⁶⁷ In declaring that Ollivier's action had created "un chaos inextricable" in opinion, the *Soir* admitted that disapproval was by no means unanimous.⁶⁸ An examination of contemporary newspapers is convincing that the *Siècle* was correct in its analysis of opinion at this time: "a large majority of the press are rejoicing because of the maintenance of peace but without concealing their impression that this peace is becoming more and more an armed peace, a precarious and very fragile peace, a truce rather than a definitive peace."⁶⁹

The significance of the demonstrations on the boulevards during the evenings of the thirteenth and fourteenth as evidence of a general demand for war has been exaggerated. In view of the tension between the governments of France and Prussia, it was natural that crowds should gather and that chauvinists should make use of them. Jules Simon wrote in 1874: "Everybody then believed that these demonstrations were in fact organized by the police."⁷⁰ No conclusive proof has ever been advanced in support of this charge,⁷¹ but

⁶⁶ Ollivier, *L'Empire Libéral*, XIV. 245, 246.

⁶⁷ *Temps*, *Journal des Débats*, *Français*, *Gazette de France*, *Avenir National*, *Siècle*, *Cloche*, *Réveil*, *Rappel*, *Journal de Paris*, *Histoire*. The two newspapers that reflected Ollivier's policy, the *Constitutionnel* and the *Patrie*, were naturally content with renunciation. Two that had urged war earlier now reversed themselves. The *Moniteur Universel* declared on the fourteenth: "Tout permet d'espérer en ce moment que la paix sera maintenue et que la France, pour faire respectée sa dignité et son droit, n'aura pas d'invoquer la suprême raison du canon." The *France* advised the government to be satisfied with the renunciation since the issue had been officially restricted to the candidature. July 14.

⁶⁸ *Soir*, July 13.

⁶⁹ *Siècle*, July 15.

⁷⁰ Simon, *Souvenirs*, p. 145.

⁷¹ Piétri, prefect of police in July, 1870, later made a sweeping, but none too convincing denial before the parliamentary investigating committee. *Enquête Parlementaire*, I. 251, 252.

if the government was not the instigator, it was at least a most benevolent spectator. The Emperor in person authorized the singing of the Marseillaise at the Opéra,⁷² and the police made no effort to restrain the crowds.⁷³ These demonstrations, according to the *Réveil*, were largely composed of young men in search of excitement, while the spectators remained quiet.⁷⁴ The correspondent of the *Progrès* of Lyons reported evidence that the crowds were inspired from a common source,⁷⁵ and the *Indépendance Belge* was informed that, judging from their appearance, it was not certain whether they intended to march upon St. Cloud or Berlin.⁷⁶ After the declaration of war, the prefect of police forbade, on the nineteenth, any further demonstrations.⁷⁷

In spite of the alleged pressure of public opinion in favor of war, the government turned to a peaceful solution on the thirteenth. It was decided, according to Ollivier, to accept even a negative reply to the demand for guaranties. On the morning of the fourteenth, Lyons reported to Granville that "the language of influential members of the Cabinet was more pacific",⁷⁸ Ollivier tells the story of working that morning on a statement which would inform the Corps Législatif of the government's decision to accept the renunciation, when Gramont burst into the room with the declaration, "Mon cher, vous voyez un homme qui viens de recevoir une gifle".⁷⁹ He had received a report from Le Sourd, the chargé d'affaires at Berlin, which contained a copy of the Ems despatch taken from a special edition of the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*. Lyons wrote that "The intelligence of the publication of this article completely changed the view

⁷² Ollivier, *L'Empire Libéral*, XIV. 286.

⁷³ "Il suffisait d'un mot de l'autorité pour mettre fin à ces promenades, aussi funestes à l'ordre et aux affaires qu'à la discipline de l'armée: ce mot ne fut pas dit." Simon, *Souvenirs*, p. 145. The correspondent of the *Times* noticed "the general impression that the Government was not sorry to give the patriotic anti-Prussian sentiment full play, partly to see what it was worth and partly to make war popular". *Times*, July 16: Paris correspondence, July 14. Cf. Garnier-Pagès, *L'Opposition et l'Empire, 1870* (Paris, 1872), I. 137, 138.

⁷⁴ *Réveil*, July 16.

⁷⁵ He wrote that the various crowds were led by individuals dressed alike, one of them always representing Joan of Arc. "Le vrai peuple de Paris est grave, sérieux, soucieux dans les circonstances que nous traversons." *Progrès*, July 17. Thiers testified that "La masse de la population désapprouvait ces manifestations. Moi-même je parcourus les rues en voiture découverte avec MM. Daru et Buffet, et nous pûmes nous apercevoir de la réalité des choses, c'est que la population était loin de désirer la guerre." *Enquête Parlementaire*, I. 9.

⁷⁶ *Indépendance Belge*, July 18: Paris correspondence, July 16.

⁷⁷ *Progrès* (Lyons), July 19.

⁷⁸ *British and Foreign State Papers*, LX. 834.

⁷⁹ Ollivier, *L'Empire Libéral*, XIV. 355.

taken by the French government of the state of the question".⁸⁰ Nevertheless, in spite of Ollivier's agreement with Gramont as to the reality of the insult, the Cabinet decided that afternoon to initiate a call for a European congress, and Ollivier was commissioned to prepare a new statement to be read to the Chamber on the fifteenth.⁸¹

Unfortunately, both Ollivier and the Emperor changed their minds after the Council adjourned. The former, according to his amazing story, read his new statement to his family circle, composed of his wife, brothers, and secretary. Although they had earlier favored peace, they protested indignantly against the policy of the Cabinet; in Ollivier's opinion this was an adequate test of public opinion.⁸² Napoleon likewise was influenced in favor of war. When he returned to St. Cloud, he found Jérôme David, the leader of the war party in the Chamber, and Paul de Cassagnac, editor of the *Pays*, with the Empress. All protested against anything less than an affirmative reply to the demand for guaranties,⁸³ and they were able to persuade Napoleon to send a hasty call for another meeting of the Council that night at St. Cloud. When Ollivier arrived, the Emperor at once expressed his dissatisfaction with the Council's decision, and, in reply, his chief minister declared that if the declaration were read as planned "people will throw mud at our carriages and will hiss us".⁸⁴

War was virtually certain after their conversion; it is clear therefore that the final decision to resort to arms was not caused by the text of the Ems despatch nor by its publication, and that no serious effort was made to consult public opinion.⁸⁵ As yet, however, a plausible case with which to ask the Chamber to support the government in a war policy was not available. Gramont furnished it with

⁸⁰ Lord Lyons to Earl Granville, Paris, July 14, 1870. *British and Foreign State Papers*, LX, 835.

⁸¹ Ollivier, *L'Empire Libéral*, XIV, 365, 366. La Gorce, *Histoire du Second Empire*, VI, 292, 293.

⁸² Ollivier, *L'Empire Libéral*, XIV, 368.

⁸³ Metternich's reports contain decisive evidence of the Empress's desire for war. He wrote on the sixth: "L'Impératrice espère que la Prusse ne cédera pas." Again on the eighth: "J'ai trouvé l'Impératrice tellement montée en faveur de la guerre que je n'ai pas pu m'empêcher de la plaisanter un peu." Salomon, *L'Incident Hohenzollern*, p. 215. According to Mme. Ollivier, Eugénie had a nervous attack on the evening of the fourteenth, when she heard that the Cabinet had decided for a peaceful solution, and cried to those near her: "La couronne est tombée en quenouille." Marie-Thérèse Ollivier, "L'Épouse de l'Empereur", *Revue de Genève*, February, 1921, p. 179.

⁸⁴ Ollivier, *L'Empire Libéral*, XIV, 373.

⁸⁵ Ollivier does not mention the influence of the crowds in accounting for his change of attitude. *Ibid.*, XIV, 369-370.

reports from the French diplomatic agents at Bern and Munich in which it was stated that the Prussian representatives had communicated the text of the Ems despatch to these governments.⁸⁶ It was at once assumed that similar action had been taken in the other European capitals. The final order of mobilization was then sent, and again Ollivier was commissioned to prepare a declaration, which, this time, would ask the Chamber for a declaration of war.⁸⁷

Ollivier has made the strongest case possible from the evidence for attributing the declaration of war to the pressure of public opinion enraged by the publication in Paris of the Ems despatch. He quotes from the *Pays*, a newspaper which had demanded war in every number from the beginning of the crisis, a statement which may or may not have reference to the telegram: "From the point of view of public opinion, there is only one possible and honorable declaration and that is a declaration of war." He found only one newspaper, the *Soir*, which declared in specific terms that France had been insulted,⁸⁸ and its influence must be discounted in view of its policy, stated on the ninth, of goading the government into action: its purpose was "to excite our government not to lose an instant and not to be fooled by a dilatory reply by the Berlin Cabinet. What we desire is a definitive peace, once and for all. The uncertainty that has weighed so heavily upon business for four years is a greater evil than a vigorously conducted war".⁸⁹

The paucity of evidence in regard to the effect usually attributed to the publication of the Ems despatch in Paris is explained by the form in which the telegram was published. It appeared in at least five evening newspapers on the fourteenth and in one journal on the morning of the fifteenth, as the first paragraph of a telegram from Berlin with an additional statement in the following form: "D'après d'autres informations d'Ems, le roi aurait fait dire à M. de Benedetti qu'il avait approuvé la renonciation de son cousin au trône d'Espagne et qu'il considérerait dès lors tout sujet de conflit comme étant écarté."⁹⁰ The press commented, although briefly, upon the contra-

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, XIV. 374, 375.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, XIV. 381.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, XIV. 383, 384. The *Times* correspondent wrote that the *Soir* was much the latest of the evening papers. July 16: Paris correspondence, July 14. It was not until the early hours of the fifteenth, according to La Gorce, that rumors spread of an alleged insult. *Histoire du Second Empire*, VI. 298. It is probable, therefore, that the excitement aroused by the *Soir's* statement did not influence the ministry's decision at St. Cloud.

⁸⁹ *Soir*, July 10.

⁹⁰ *Patrie, Liberté, Univers, Journal des Débats, France*, July 15. The *France* was a morning newspaper. I have found a reference to the publication

diction between the two parts of this despatch. The *France* declared: "This would be the most important despatch of the day if the two parts did not contradict each other." This inconsistency was noticed by the *Liberté*, and the *Patrie* added that it was a private telegram and that Gramont had received no information that would confirm or invalidate it. It was published in the *Univers* without comment. The *Journal des Débats* declared: "We do not know what truth there is in this news transmitted in this form, numerous facts having taught us that telegrams are not always gospel truth." It was apparently never published in the *Temps*.⁹¹ Available evidence suggests that the second paragraph was added in Paris on the afternoon of the fourteenth, at a time when the Cabinet had decided to ask for the intervention of the Powers.⁹² It is clear, therefore, that the Ems despatch did not have the effect in arousing a demand for war which has usually been attributed to it.

After Gramont's reading of the government's declaration on July 6, Ollivier had promised the Corps Législatif that the government would consult its opinion before taking an irrevocable step.⁹³ Elected

of the Ems despatch in this form in only one book dealing with the origins of the War of 1870. Alfred Darimon, *Notes pour servir à l'Histoire de la Guerre* (Paris, 1888), p. 111. La Gorce has only the following comment to make upon the reaction of the Paris press: "Que serait-ce, quand on connaîtrait, par les feuilles d'après-midi, l'information sensationnelle publiée dans la soirée à Berlin?" *Histoire du Second Empire*, VI. 288. Welschinger states that it was published by a certain number of newspapers on the fourteenth but does not cite them nor does he notice the additional statement. *La Guerre de 1870*, I. 170. According to Palat: "Lorsque les journaux du soir jetèrent dans la grande ville la funeste nouvelle, l'explosion dépassa ce que les observateurs les mieux informés avaient pu attendre." *Les Origines de la Guerre de 1870*, p. 524.

⁹¹ Charles de Mazade did not mention its publication in his political comments. *Revue des Deux Mondes*, LXXXVIII., 738.

⁹² The first paragraph, which contains the text of the despatch as it is known to history, is distinguished from the second in the *Journal des Débats*, July 15, by quotes. Furthermore, the additional statement does not appear in the *Indépendance Belge*, July 15.

⁹³ According to the *Temps*, the contrast between the violence of the official press and the refusal of the government to explain the situation to the Chamber during the following days was due to the necessity of dealing there with a vigorous group of opposition deputies. July 9. Ollivier's promise that the will of the Chamber would be consulted was not taken seriously by the *Progrès* of Lyons, July 9, and it predicted with remarkable accuracy what actually happened. "Les députés applaudissent à cette lugubre plaisanterie. Ils ne comprennent pas qu'on se moque d'eux, qu'on viendra leur soumettre la question quand elle sera résolue, quand il n'y aura plus moyen de reculer, quand on aura forcé la Prusse à répondre aux gros mots de M. de Gramont par quelque insolence de même genre. Et s'il se trouve alors des naïfs qui veuillent discuter, le même Ollivier remontera à la tribune et leur dira: 'Quoi! vous songez à discuter quand l'honneur de la France est en jeu, quand l'étranger nous insulte!'"

in 1869, when the issue of liberal reforms led the peasant vote to support the official candidates, the Chamber was not qualified to speak for the nation upon the German question. The majority was described by Sorel as composed of men who owed their election to government support, as men without independence of opinion, as extremely subservient to the court, and as profoundly ignorant of foreign and military affairs.⁹⁴ It was from this source that the demand came on the thirteenth for an explanation of the government's policy, and, when the Cabinet agreed to make a statement two days later, the way was prepared for a discussion of the situation. The order for mobilization, however, which was despatched on the evening of the fourteenth, made it necessary for Ollivier to represent the crisis in the worst possible colors. His statement on the fifteenth failed to explain that, according to Benedetti, no insult had been given or received at Ems, and that William had suggested that the negotiations could continue at Berlin.

The scene which followed was more a stampede than an orderly debate.⁹⁵ Thiers, Gambetta, and other leaders of the opposition attempted, in the face of constant interruption, to secure the reading of the proof that France had been insulted. This was scarcely the attitude of men who were familiar with the text of the Ems despatch and who agreed with the Cabinet's interpretation. Ollivier, in fact, rested his case for a war policy upon Bismarck's communication to the European courts, and in his remarks during the two turbulent sessions of the fifteenth gave the impression, not only to the Chamber but to the press, that the government had in its possession a document different from and more serious than the Ems despatch.⁹⁶ At length, under the pressure of Gambetta's insistence that the nation's fate should not be decided by selected extracts from the documents, Ollivier read parts of the reports from the French agents which Gramont had communicated to the Cabinet the preceding evening, and in reading one he presented to the Chamber the text of the Ems despatch without identifying it as proof of the alleged insult.⁹⁷

In spite of Ollivier's amazement that deputies could be so slow to defend the nation's honor, the opposition remained unconvinced. Jules Favre demanded: "How has the honor of France been involved? and what is the proof you advance? Where is the official

⁹⁴ Sorel, *Histoire Diplomatique*, I. 135.

⁹⁵ *Univers*, July 17.

⁹⁶ *Annales*, 1870, vol. VI., Corps Législatif, séance du 15 juillet, pp. 68, 69, 72, 73, 76, 77, 95-97.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

despatch?" He then proposed a resolution asking for the communication of Bismarck's circular to the foreign courts,⁹⁸ and in the division which followed, 84 members, more than a third of the Chamber, by voting for the resolution, revealed the strength of the opposition to the government's statement of its case.⁹⁹

The Cabinet, however, agreed to give to the commission which was to examine the war measures what it had refused to the Chamber, and for this reason the session was adjourned until evening. What took place at the meeting of the commission is far from clear,¹⁰⁰ but Gramont seems to have read documents, in part or in whole, hurriedly, without careful identification as to dates, with the result that the commission was convinced that the demand for guaranties had been made in the first instructions to Benedetti.¹⁰¹ Much was made of this point by the chairman, and when Gramont failed to correct this error, the commission declared itself satisfied.¹⁰² Nevertheless, the opposition remained skeptical in spite of the support which the commission gave to the government, and Gambetta declared that it was essential that the Chamber be shown "la note générale envoyée par le comte de Bismarck à tous les cabinets de l'Europe".¹⁰³ When Gramont replied that it had been read to the commission, he strengthened the impression that the text of the com-

⁹⁸ *Annales*, p. 85.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

¹⁰⁰ Le Comte de Kératry, *Petits Mémoires* (Paris, 1898), p. 159. "Combien il serait étonnant de relire le procès-verbal de cette séance, que j'ai vainement recherché depuis aux archives du Palais-Bourbon!" Kératry was a member of the commission.

¹⁰¹ Salomon, *L'Incident Hohenzollern*, p. 250. Benedetti, who had watched the proceedings in the Chamber from the diplomatic gallery, was not asked to give his testimony. Welschinger, *La Guerre de 1870*, I. 183. Welschinger was also present.

¹⁰² *Annales*, 1870, vol. VI., Corps Législatif, séance du 15 juillet, p. 89. Mège, the minister of public instruction, explained to Darimon in the lobby, before the commission made its report, that Gramont was the only member of the ministry who was familiar with the documents in their entirety and that diplomatic courtesy had forbidden the reading of the full texts to the Chamber. Darimon replied that Ollivier had himself read the text of the document for which the opposition was clamoring, and he then showed to the minister a copy of the *France* in which it was printed. This was apparently news to Mège, for he replied: "Donnez-moi ce journal, je vais le montrer à Gramont et Ollivier." Darimon, *Les Cent Seize*, pp. 400-403. According to Darimon, Ollivier told him, after the war, that he had not known of the publication of the telegram in the Paris newspapers. Darimon, *L'Agonie de l'Empire* (Paris, 1891), p. 113. In spite of Ollivier's desire to discredit Darimon as a trustworthy witness (Ollivier, *L'Empire Libéral*, XIV. 233, 234, note), his evidence on this point merits consideration.

¹⁰³ *Annales*, 1870, vol. VI., Corps Législatif, séance du 15 juillet, p. 94.

munication was not that of the Ems despatch which it had heard during the afternoon session.¹⁰⁴ Ernest Picard, the last member of the opposition to speak before the final votes were taken, declared that the Cabinet refused to yield to the demand for information because "il est possible que, s'ils étaient produits devant cette assemblée, ils n'auraient pas sur l'opinion l'effet qu'on paraît en attendre".¹⁰⁵

This uncertainty as to the government's real grounds for war was reflected by the press. The *Temps* declared on the sixteenth: "A telegram whose official text was not even read to the Chamber was sufficient for the government to engage the country in the greatest war of the nineteenth century."¹⁰⁶ The *Liberté* admitted that the document mentioned in the Chamber might not exist in the government's *dossier*; the important thing was that the king had refused the demand for guaranties.¹⁰⁷ "It will be said in the future", so the *Siècle* declared on the fifteenth, "that the majority party in the Chamber was unwilling that the country should be informed as to the Prussian despatch which, according to M. Ollivier, compelled France to declare war."¹⁰⁸ Its remarks on the following day were even more to the point: "Since the Tuileries Cabinet pretended to have in its possession a despatch from Bismarck which is insulting to France, it should have been very easy to place it before the Chamber; the war would then have been popular for France never hesitates when her honor is involved."¹⁰⁹

A telegram, hitherto unnoticed, which was sent from Paris on the fifteenth to provincial and foreign newspapers, shows that the government did not depend upon the text of the Ems despatch or upon its communication to the European courts in order to justify war. This telegram appears in practically the same form in the *Journal de Marseilles*, the *Progrès* of Lyons, the *Indépendance Belge*,¹¹⁰ and the *London Times*:

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

¹⁰⁶ *Temps*, July 17.

¹⁰⁷ *Liberté*, July 17.

¹⁰⁸ *Siècle*, July 16.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, July 17.

¹¹⁰ As published in the *Journal de Marseilles*, July 16, this telegram claimed official authority for the assertion that Bismarck's circular to the foreign courts contained the following: "(1) l'affront fait à M. de Benedetti, notre ambassadeur; (2) refusant la renonciation faite par le prince de Hohenzollern; (3) lui restituant la liberté d'accepter la couronne." One report from Paris in the *Indépendance Belge* contained this announcement as it appeared in the *Marseilles* journal. Another telegram from Paris was published in the same number, July 17, which contained additional information: "Le gouvernement a . . . reçu par le télégraphe la copie textuelle d'une circulaire du gouvernement prussien à ses

The government announced [according to the form in which this propagandist telegram appears in the *Times*] "that this declaration [of war] is precipitated by the circular of the King, which, firstly, confirms the affront to M. de Benedetti; secondly, refuses to guarantee the renunciation of Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern; and thirdly, restores to him his liberty to accept the throne of Spain".¹¹¹

The wide publicity given this falsified version of Bismarck's circular suggests an effort to strengthen a weak case in order to influence provincial and neutral opinion. The *Progrès* of Lyons agreed that if the report from Paris were true it would be at least a partial explanation of the government's precipitate action. "But why have the ministers refused to communicate the text of this note since they claim that they know its contents? Why remain silent when it would be so easy to satisfy their critics? . . . Since war has been declared, what is the reason for this silence?"¹¹² In Berlin Bismarck denied the existence of a circular that differed from the despatch published in the newspapers, and a telegram was given to the news agencies which contained the following statement: "It is not difficult to understand Ollivier's refusal to read the text. The French Chamber would have discovered the frivolous deception of which it had been the victim."¹¹³

The decision once made, little attention was given in the press to the alleged insult or to Bismarck's communication to the other powers in accounting for the war. The real reasons, according to the pro-war press, were the intention of Prussia to declare war if France did not, and the need, therefore, of striking at a favorable moment.¹¹⁴ Much weight was given to the argument that war was inevitable; the Paris correspondent of the *Indépendance Belge* wrote that the war was accepted by a majority of the people for this reason.¹¹⁵ The reports of the prefects after 1866 testify to a wide-

agents diplomatiques à l'étranger qui confirme le refus de recevoir M. Benedetti, ainsi que le refus du roi de Prusse opposé aux demandes de la France, et qui annonce enfin que le roi a rendu au prince de Hohenzollern la liberté d'accepter la couronne si elle lui était offerte de nouveau. Ce document a décidé les ministres qui étaient pour la paix à se rallier aux amis de la guerre." Cf. *Progrès* (Lyons), July 17.

¹¹¹ *Times*, July 16: Reuter telegram from Paris, July 15.

¹¹² *Progrès*, July 17.

¹¹³ This statement appears in the *Temps*, July 19, as a part of an obviously inspired telegram from Berlin, which was clipped from the *Indépendance Belge*, July 16.

¹¹⁴ *Opinion Nationale*, July 17.

¹¹⁵ *Indépendance Belge*, July 18: Paris correspondence, July 16. The *Presse* thought as early as the ninth that Prussia "fera décliner par le prince lui-même

spread fear of an inevitable war, but peace was probably desired by an immense majority.¹¹⁶

That the government interpreted the propaganda of the pro-war press as the reflection of the nation's will was either the result of interested motives or is illuminating as to its political capacity. It is by no means certain that a majority, even in Paris, desired war. On the fourteenth the *Progrès* of Lyons listed thirteen Paris newspapers which were then in favor of a peaceful solution and eleven in favor of war.¹¹⁷ The sentiment in the provinces was overwhelmingly pacific. It is said that the prefects of only sixteen departments reported a desire for war.¹¹⁸ Unfortunately, these reports for the period of the crisis are available only in rare instances, but among those that are included in the cartons of the Archives Nationales there is one from the department of Puy-de-Dôme which is significant. Patriotic sentiments there were represented as reviving after a long period of quiescence, but "this awakening has not yet taken the form of enthusiastic demonstrations; such is not the habit of the population of this part of the country".¹¹⁹ The declaration of war, which was virtually made on the fifteenth, was in advance of public opinion, as had been the government's measures leading to it.¹²⁰ There were

le don redoutable qui lui était offert". The moral victory was therefore certain. "Dans tous les cas, n'oublions pas que nous sommes en face d'un état de choses dont l'issue est inévitable. . . . La guerre est nécessairement au bout de cette rivalité entre deux peuples, dont l'un ne veut pas renoncer à la grandeur qu'il a acquise dans le passé et dont l'autre est impatient de la grandeur nouvelle qui lui fait entrevoir l'avenir." *Presse*, July 10.

¹¹⁶ Such at least is the testimony of Jules Simon. "D'abord la déclaration si souvent reproduite, que le pays voulait la guerre, est absolument inexacte. J'ai parcouru bien de fois le Midi pendant les dernières années de l'Empire. . . . J'ai bien vu l'esprit des populations; j'étais en rapports continuels avec les électeurs de Paris, avec ceux de la Marne et de la Haute-Vienne; mes impressions accordent absolument avec ceux de mes collègues de l'opposition, dont les relations étaient, comme les miennes, très-étendues. Je regarde comme certain que les dispositions du pays étaient essentiellement pacifiques." Simon, *Souvenirs*, pp. 143, 144.

¹¹⁷ *Progrès*, July 14.

¹¹⁸ Sorel, *Histoire Diplomatique*, I. 197. Fester prints two reports favoring war from the departments of the Pyrénées Orientales and the Bouches-du-Rhône, but he ignores entirely the majority which testify to a desire of peace. Fester, *Briefe, Aktenstücke*, II. 30, 59.

¹¹⁹ Archives Nationales, F¹^c-III: Puy-de-Dôme 7. Aug. 1, 1870.

¹²⁰ The *Siècle* declared on the sixteenth: "On a surexcité le sentiment national, on a voulu la guerre." According to the *Impartial du Centre* (Nevers), July 16, the government had willed the war in order to preserve its position in international affairs. "À part les officieux dont le rôle est de toujours dire Amen! et si l'on excepte quelques particuliers à l'humeur belliqueux aigu, le public qui travaille, qui pense et qui raisonne réclame le maintien de la paix."

officials in the government of France who, if they were not guilty of plotting the war, were ready to interpret the propaganda of a few newspapers as the expression of public opinion, and the centralized institutions of France made it possible for these men to commit the nation to war.

E. MALCOLM CARROLL.

CALHOUN, 1812, AND AFTER ¹

It is freely admitted by almost every student of American history of the middle third of the nineteenth century that nobody knows anything about the subject except himself. This gracious modesty has played ducks and drakes with all our old ideas. For example, who to-day has a good word for the recognition, among the causes of the Civil War, of strict and loose construction of the American Constitution? Even slavery is no longer a live issue. An historian who justly ranks among the brilliant products of our day said to me, not long ago, "Were I to write the history of that period I should put slavery into a foot-note". Indeed the new kings have arisen who know not Joseph. Let me hasten to confess that I am not in the joyful company who know the whole secret of that damnably fascinating, that abominably obscure period, the middle third. Heartily as I agree that slavery was a pretext—quite as surely as it was a cause—I can not eliminate the negro from the crucial factors of American politics. I am not wholly sure even that strict and loose construction will never again be heard of in discussions of that time. Our learned brother of the law would be very slow, I fancy, to admit that the interpretations which the high contracting parties placed upon a document could be wholly ignored by the student of their obligations and reactions.

Though caution is an excellent advice to anyone who would generalize to-day about the causes of the Civil War, and though dogmatism ought to be the unpardonable sin in history, permit me, in my fifteen minutes, to rush in with that proverbial temerity which the angels do not have, and to summarize roughly one view, only one, among the several that are seeking to explain where lies the turning-point in our advance toward civil war.

Will anyone to-day stand pat on the interpretations of fifty years ago? I think not, at least not dogmatically. If we approach the subject as legalists—which some of us are again inclining to do—is it not all a question of what became of the crown's sovereignty between 1776 and 1783? And in this matter have we ever developed anything but subtleties of fine-spun deduction, not to say dialectics? If the sovereignty of the crown passed to a collective entity, the Amer-

¹ A paper read at the meeting of the American Historical Association at Ann Arbor, Dec. 30, 1925.

ican people—as Abraham Lincoln believed it did—when did that thing come into legal existence? Obviously, it had no existence legally on the third of July, 1776. Was it in existence on the fifth of July? If not then, did it come into existence between that day and September 3, 1783? If so, how? When? Here is a pretty tough nut for the legalists to crack. The mere mention of it gives a delight to many of us who hail from the southern side of a famous political line. But wait a bit. Was there any sovereign state—as that term is understood in American historical controversy—in existence in the American portion of the empire on July 3, 1776? Were such entities in existence on July 5? Had they come into existence when our late lamented sovereign George, of gracious memory, laid his crown on the table, so far as we were concerned, and said in substance—“Settle among yourselves to whom it belongs”?

If any legalist can answer these questions without becoming a dialectician he is my historical prophet henceforth. But until that prophet arises I shall insist that what began in 1776 was neither more nor less than a rough-and-tumble, hand-to-mouth attempt to liquidate the old British Empire and to form out of its American portion some sort of new going concern. I shall continue to insist that constitutionally we were in a state of intermittent revolution from the day when an insurrectionary junto, miscalled the Continental Congress, proclaimed in the most vague phraseology their substance of things hoped for, even unto the day when a Supreme Court, resting on the success of that final argument of kings, the shotted cannon, defined this country as an indestructible union of indestructible states.

But there were great landmarks—moments of congestion so to speak—in this tortuous intermittent revolution.

Time does not permit argument on the next point, so it will have to go dogmatically. We shall yet learn to think of the years 1787–1789 as the counter-revolution. Assuming this, what was it counter to? Why, to the conception of government by unanimity. The first stage of the intermittent revolution had set up, as an attempt at a new régime, a league of political units called “states”; a league that was declared to be perpetual—a fact so often by a certain school forgotten—and one in which unanimous consent was made the basis of government. Have we not heard somewhere in some preliminary move toward imperial liquidation that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed? The Articles of 1777 were the practical application of the Declaration of 1776. They summoned Utopia out of the air and bade it take up its habitation in America. Like the immortal Glendower they came before the world

saying, "I can call spirits from the vasty deep", and like the amused Hotspur the world retorted, "But will they come when you do call for them?". By 1787, a great part of America had concluded that Utopia would not come because it could not come. Then, the counter-revolution—the revolution against the idea that government by unanimity was anything but a dream. Curiously enough, both sides of the legalistic debate can find comfort in the counter-revolution. If it decided anything, it decided anew that states were fixed units in the new concern, but also, that government by unanimity should give place to some form of government by majority.

What implications grew out of this double affirmation! And how curiously—spasmodically, perhaps—various parts of the country responded!—oblivious, apparently, to the revolutionary character of their actions. What an irony in the action of every state that had bound itself through the Articles to a perpetual union, when now it coolly authorized its legislature to join with any eight other states of like mind in a conspiracy to repudiate that perpetual union, and set up a rival!—even if the remaining four states should continue in the old allegiance. And then, as if afraid of the possible consequences of this desperate act, the insurance policy—constitutionally speaking—when Virginia, for example, proclaimed itself a sovereign, free to recall its act of conspiracy when it pleased. One is reminded of the legal definition of *obiter dicta*—individual impertinence that bindeth none, not even the lips that utter it.

Had government by unanimity been abolished? In set terms, yes. But what about the silences in the compact of conspiracy—I mean the Constitution of the United States? And what about the flavor of the whole episode; its revolutionary character; its repudiation of perpetual obligations; its alteration of fundamental ideas; its forgetfulness of the once sacred Declaration; in a word, its throwing all the cards on the table and starting over again? Was not all this merely further evidence that there was no binding obligation recognized by any influence of the time which would forbid it to remold American society not through precedent but through its own heart's desire? Surely, the day Washington became President there was precious little certainty that the liquidation of the old Empire was complete. Had the original minds of that day been familiar with Omar would they not have accepted as their motto the quatrain from which I have just now taken a phrase? Would not their intent, like his, have been the shattering of the scheme of things entire; its eventual rebuilding nearer to their hearts' desire?

The real purposes, the actual political promptings of the great leaders of dissent during the next twenty years—Jefferson, first of all—deserve more disinterested attention from the sectional point of view than has yet been accorded them. Sufficient for the moment is one fact. Clearly discerned at the back of many minds is a dread of the new system. Jefferson and Josiah Quincy can agree for once in this. The protest against the annexation of Louisiana is a monument to the dread of possibilities obviously inherent in the new system. Would this new system, with its pattern of state units and its doctrine of majority rule, create sectional despotism?

Nevertheless, until Jefferson passes, all such questions are but vague and disquieting forecasts of possibility. Even the embargo does not prove the danger real. There is still hope that a check upon the new powers created by the Constitution is securely based in the temper of the people. Such surely was Jefferson's hope. It was the hope of many of his followers. When that Southern supporter of the embargo said in Congress, "We cannot enforce our measure in New England except at the point of the bayonet and, therefore, I vote to repeal it", he gave proof that the national temper was still capable of modifying the literal severity of institutions.

Considered as a type that member is a tragic figure overlooked by historians. He is succeeded on the political stage with such apparent suddenness by a group of men whose terrible fatefulness in our history we do not yet completely acknowledge. These were the War Hawks.

To mention them is to touch the spring that releases a controversy. Were those impetuous youths—politically speaking—inspired by "nationalism"? Calhoun, for example, upon whose apparent change of front later so much has been said—was he, in his War Hawk days, a "nationalist"? Dear me! How very unfortunate it is in historical study to be void of imagination. How very desirable it would be to print at the top of every blank page used by the historian Tommy Atkins's account of himself—

"We aren't no thin red 'eroes, nor we aren't no blackguards too,
But single men in barracks, most remarkable like you".

How many pompous abstractions that have flitted before the literal eyes of Dryasdust—the Fata Morgana of history—and led him solemnly, ceremonially right over an edge and plump into the bottomless depths of absurdity, how much, of all that, the strictly literary sense with its consciousness of man as a human being might save

us from! If only Dryasdust could understand that the "political man" and the "economic man" and all such are algebraic not human conceptions. If only he will realize that man both in his hours of exaltation and in his hours of dread consults not his lawyer nor his text-book of economics but his heart. Very unfortunate perhaps, but true. To look on Calhoun in 1812 as animated fundamentally by a theory of the Constitution or by an economic programme is to talk—well, what we expect of Dryasdust.

Consider what these ardent young men, these War Hawks of 1812, actually were. A new generation made vocal; headlong, enthusiastic, not intellectual—though some, Calhoun for example, became intellectual in time. Furthermore, these young men were anticipating perhaps the necessities of a brilliant historian of our own day and preparing for his use a minor theme under the general subject of the influence of the frontier on American life. Were they not turning back into the startled East a temper which, rather than any particular place, was the real American frontier? At least they had the cocksureness that had been born of the frontier, its intolerance, its short-sightedness, its high temper along with its passionate faith in itself, its sense of bigness, its amazing courage; yes, and also its cruelty, its lack of regard for the rights of others. And the men who made this new temper vocal in Congress were so young—politically speaking—they stood for a revolt of youth against age as surely as do many young people of talent who take themselves so seriously at the present hour. Consider their ages. Of the greatest two Clay was but thirty-five, Calhoun but just thirty. Lowndes was of the same age as Calhoun. Of the lesser leaders scarcely one had turned forty. A revolted generation all in love with a vision of grandeur, of egoism, of doing-what-we-damn-please, of—how very modern—expressing ourselves, politically. They wanted war. They wanted an imperial programme. They were going to have what they wanted. Who said anything about political theories? Who are the old fogies who think they know better than we what is best for the country? What's the Constitution between friends!

So much for their inspiration. On the astute political strategy—or, as perhaps a practical statesman might say, the party bargaining, the log-rolling among various local interests—by which their majority was built up, this is not the time to linger. Crafty they were no doubt. Perhaps as sharp bargainers politically as Americans usually are. But all that is not now to the point. It is the other side of the story, neither inspiration nor process but consequence, which is our next consideration, and here Dryasdust gets his innings. The course

of the War Hawks has all the significance in the way of constitutional interpretation that the most meticulous legal historian may desire. And this is perfectly natural. While the explanation of men's actions must ever be in terms of their motives, the value of those actions has nothing to do with motive. "Fate for intentions asketh not." Blindly the War Hawks undid themselves. As fatuously in their own sphere as ever Dryasdust in his, they went after Fata Morgana right over the precipice into consequences the very reverse of what they desired.

It was all made possible by the new system set up in 1789. Obviously, if the old Articles had still been in force all the War Hawks under the sun could not have coerced New England into war in 1812. But the Articles were one with Tyre and Nineveh. The new system, the dreaded new system, with its inherent possibilities of majority despotism, was in force. The War Hawks were creative men of action; that is, they were as all such men always are—political artists. They looked on the Constitution as the artist looks upon his medium—color, sound, words, whatever it may be—not as something sacrosanct but as a subtle, a potent instrument to express his will. In the new system whoever could control a majority in Congress could direct the activity of a gigantic political machine whichever way he pleased. These ardent frontiersmen-in-spirit saw their opportunity. True to the new temper—so utterly different from the inherited English temper—they seized their opportunity without a qualm. They recklessly imposed their will without a tremor of moral or legal scruple. They rode down a bitter minority. They imposed war when a great part of the country was willing almost to fight them to prevent it. A vast remove from government by unanimity.

What nonsense to suppose that the War Hawks had a consciously national purpose, despite the fact that this has so often been attributed to them; quite as vain the more recent illusion that they had a sectional purpose—in the portentous latter-day sense of the word. They wanted their way and they got it, but the condition of getting their way was in playing off a solid, sectional majority against a solid, sectional minority. Who does not know that the Northeast stood almost solidly against war; that the lower middle country, the South, and the West, stood almost solidly for it? No fixed solidarity in these sections, of course. Merely through the accident of their temporary alignment, a startling demonstration of two things: that under the new system, unfortunately, sectional despotism was a possibility; that the new temper, when such despotism served its purpose, would not hesitate to evoke it.

To repeat—what a long way from government by unanimity, and also what a long way from government by give-and-take, by long-sighted refusal to gain a temporary advantage at the risk of eventual reaction. If any of these brilliant, alluring young men of genius, these flapper statesmen, who so gaily seduced their sections in 1812, if they could have known a little more than they did about life and history, what, one speculates, might they have thought of, say, John Winthrop refusing to ask the Long Parliament to legislate in favor of Massachusetts because in after times hostile forces might be in control and, meanwhile, a precedent would have been established. When Calhoun in 1812 consented to the establishment of that earliest Solid South and fell for the policy of using it as he wanted, regardless of precedent, his impetuous enthusiasm, his frontierism, would have scoffed very likely at the hard-headedness of a man like Winthrop. He was still in that relatively boyish frame of mind when his motive sufficed him. To create a solid South was no part of his motive, no more than to create a solid nation. His aim was merely to bring the war about and watch all mankind sooner or later acknowledge that he and his—up-to-date young fellows, you know—had had their wits about them in 1812, and had seen what ought to be done—seen what everybody else in the course of time was bound to agree ought to have been done.

But how differently everything worked out! Instead of eventual endorsement by a grateful people, recognizing the superior prescience of the statesmen of 1812, deeper and broader animosity, sharper and sharper bitterness, a deposit of sectional hate as the last word of the effects of the War-Hawk policy. And unintentionally but none the less effectively the opening of Pandora's box—the letting loose upon the land of feelings and frames of mind that were not to be quieted until, forty-nine years later, there was invoked that final argument—"the drumming guns that have no doubts". The legalists, and the economists, and the formula-mongers of all varieties may tell the rest of the tale any way they will, but the central fact remains the same—the War Hawks had got us into something they could not get us out of. The more they struggled to do so—and who else directed national policy the next twenty years?—the more clearly they revealed their inability to cope with the demons they had aroused. A terrible floundering among problems too great for them, the successive further deposits of sectional hate as the consequences of that floundering, this is as near as it is safe to come to a formula of American history from 1812 to 1833; from the day Calhoun called forth sectional despotism as a temporary expedient to the day he compromised with it as an established tendency.

NATHANIEL W. STEPHENSON.

THE BACKGROUND OF THE BEGINNINGS OF SWEDISH IMMIGRATION, 1850-1875

If the historian may essay the rôle of prophet, one may hazard the prediction that future historians will be struck by the failure of the nineteenth century to explore the vast field of immigration. It is true that, during the last quarter of the century, the members of the guild were conscious of the far-reaching results of the great movement of population across the Atlantic; but no very serious efforts were made to explore the matter thoroughly. Perhaps the phenomenon was too obvious and prosaic; it was heralded by no catastrophe and it produced no leaders of heroic stature. In the beginning the newspapers in the countries of departure commented on the spectacle of whole trains of wagons, closely packed with household gear and children, moving through the streets, followed by men and women on foot, en route from the interior to the ports of embarkation; and American papers chronicled the arrival of these hosts. But soon these events became too common for comment.

The present paper represents an attempt to correlate some of the conditions and events which set in motion and accelerated the migration from Sweden to the United States in the period from 1850 to 1875, the formative years of the great exodus. Accepting the commonplace doctrines that the principal cause of the movement was the immigrants' desire to get a "better living", it will set forth the contributing factors which, taken together, offer a more satisfactory explanation and a basis for understanding the reaction of the Swedish immigrants to the American environment. In other words, it is its purpose to find an answer to the question why immigration from Sweden to the United States began in earnest in the decade of the 'fifties and mounted like a tide until Swedish patriots witnessed with amazement a movement which threatened to depopulate their country.

The emigrant himself at the time of his departure, as well as in later years, was incapable of analyzing the complex forces, operating over a long period of time, which created his environment and brought him to the decision to cast loose from the old moorings. Superficially the impulse to emigrate in individual cases might appear to have come from some triviality—a quarrel, an unsympathetic pastor, a crop failure, a letter from a friend who had "struck it

rich" in America. A hundred other incidents might have furnished the spark. But in all ages there have been quarrels, misunderstandings, injustices, crop failures, and good fortune. Why, then, did the Swedish immigrant of the nineteenth century forsake the land which, for weal or woe, had been the home of his forbears for centuries? We shall not stray far from the truth if we regard the men in the vanguard as nonconformists in political, religious, social, and economic matters.

Students of immigration are in almost unanimous agreement that the Swedes became Americanized more quickly and thoroughly than other stocks. They had no qualms of conscience in surrendering their birthright in favor of citizenship in the American Republic. Why? Principally because in America they found conditions which nearly approached their conception of an ideal society.

The Swedish Lutheran Church in America took its beginnings in the Mississippi Valley—in Illinois, Iowa, Indiana, and Minnesota. Its founders were strait-laced puritans in morals and doctrine whose abhorrence of a State Church was so profound that everything that remotely suggested it was excluded from the new organization.¹

In Sweden Protestantism was Erastian to the core.² Church and State were not only united but identified. All the evils inherent in a system where the civil power directs and controls the minutest matters in the Church were present. The clergy as a class were worldly, without profound religious experience, and negligent in performing the duties of their office. In 1868 the archbishop's address to the first convocation since 1593 presented a harsh picture of the clergy. In the catalogue of their sins were listed heresy, profanity, blasphemy, drunkenness, gambling, avarice, dishonesty, lewdness, and sacrilege.³ At a ministerial meeting in *Westerås stift* in 1855 it was agreed that hereafter ministers were to refrain from card-playing, from serving brandy, and from entertaining and visiting on the Sabbath.⁴ Since 1726 the so-called *Konventikel-Plakat*, forbidding re-

¹ *Hemlandet*, May 31, 1856. *Hemlandet*, the first Swedish newspaper in the United States, was established at Galesburg, Illinois, Jan. 3, 1855. In 1858 the publication office was removed to Chicago, where it is still published. For some account of the historical value of this paper, see George M. Stephenson, "Some Foot-notes to the History of Swedish Immigration from about 1855 to about 1865", in the *Yearbook* of the Swedish Historical Society of America, 1921-1922, pp. 35-52.

² *Missionary* (Pittsburgh, Pa.), December, 1855; John O. Evjen, "The Scandinavians and the Book of Concord", in *Lutheran Quarterly*, April, 1906, p. 11.

³ *Wäktaren* (Stockholm), Sept. 3, 1868.

⁴ *Evangelisk Kyrkowan*, Mar. 14, 1855.

ligious services in homes where others than members of the household were present, had been in existence, but for years it had been a dead letter until about the middle of the nineteenth century, when it was invoked to allay the rising tide of dissent and nonconformity and check the increasing participation of laymen in religious services.⁵

The confluence of various forms of dissatisfaction with conditions in the Established Church coincides with the beginnings of emigration. The more primitive and remote northern provinces gave birth to religious revivals, which swiftly spread to all parts of the realm.⁶ These meetings were attended by the excesses which were so manifest on the American frontier: jerks, convulsions, groans, and high religious voltage; and were, for the most part, led by laymen and usually opposed by the clergy.⁷ The conservative papers printed many sharp thrusts at what they were pleased to call the "preaching sickness".

Although these religious movements were of various shades and aims, they were one in protesting against the worldliness of the clergy, and their leaders and followers were pietistic and devout. Some, like the Methodists, Baptists, and Eric Jansonists, were separatists; but most of them were *Läsare* ("readers") or disciples of Karl Olof Rosenius and George Scott, who were among the most important forces in the religious awakening.⁸ In 1830 Scott, an English Methodist, became chaplain to a number of English workingmen in the employ of Samuel Owen. He learned to speak fluent Swedish, became prominent in the religious life of Stockholm, and was an ardent temperance advocate. Receiving the consent of the government to erect a chapel, he attracted so many hearers by his sermons that he incurred the hostility of the ministers of the State Church, who smarted under the criticism directed at them from his pulpit. Rosenius fell under the influence of Scott and carried on his work after the latter's expulsion from the country. Rosenius was opposed to separation from the State Church, but he was unsparing in censuring the clergy, asserting that out of Stockholm's 120 ministers only two were true shepherds of the flock. Among the early emigrants Rosenius was loved and admired, and his devotional books occupied a prominent place in many Swedish-American homes.

⁵ *Evangelisk Kyrkowan*, Feb. 15, May 17, 1854.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Mar. 14, 1855, Nov. 30, 1857.

⁷ C. A. Cornelius, *Svenska Kyrkans Historia efter Reformationen* (Upsala, 1886), I. 223-228.

⁸ *Ibid.*, I. 218, 219, 245-248.

The influence of America is evident in the Swedish religious movements. The writings of Theodore Parker had much vogue in certain circles and probably played a part in molding religious thought.⁹ Some of the Baptist and Methodist leaders had resided in America and had imbibed freely of the spirit and method of these rapidly growing sects in America.¹⁰ Mormon missionaries from across the Atlantic were remarkably successful in gaining converts.¹¹ Another factor in loosening the bonds between the people and the church of the fathers was the alarming increase in the number of atheistic papers.¹²

Within the State Church a group of younger ministers was kindled by the flame of the spirit. For example, in Öland a remarkable revival centred around a young minister who, upon invitation from pietistic laymen, came from the mainland to preach to hosts of people. He was severely censured by the older ministers, who could see nothing good in his efforts.¹³ On the other hand, there were a few, even among the bishops, who lent sympathy and encouragement to their younger brethren and deplored efforts to persecute them.

Religious freedom became a topic of most acrimonious discussion. The Society for the Advancement of Religious Freedom was organized in Stockholm in 1851, and the same year a paper, *Evangelisk Kyrkowän*, was established to promote the cause. The learned and gifted editor, Hans Birger Hammar, deplored the mixing of the spiritual and temporal power inherent in a State Church, and in a series of remarkable articles laid bare the reasons for the decadence of that of Sweden. He deplored the exclusion of the laity from the spiritual activity of the Church,¹⁴ and advocated fearlessly the establishment of absolute religious freedom, because he believed that restriction hampered the development of a healthy spiritual life, and because persecution under the Konventikel-Plakat of 1726 poured oil on the fire of dissent.¹⁵ He took the Scottish Free Church as a pattern. After the cause had been taken up by a num-

⁹ *Hemlandet*, Dec. 1, 1868.

¹⁰ *Wäktaren*, quoted in *Hemlandet*, Dec. 22, 1855; E. J. Ekman, *Den Inre Missionens Historia* (Stockholm, 1896, etc.), II. 377.

¹¹ Cornelius, *Svenska Kyrkans Historia*, I. 251, 252; letter of Swedish immigrant from Salt Lake City, Utah, to *Hemlandet*, Oct. 12, 1859; *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bilaga III., *Mormonvärfningen* (Stockholm, 1910).

¹² Article by "Kyrkoherde" in *Wäktaren*, Dec. 10, 1868.

¹³ Letter from Sweden to *Hemlandet*, Feb. 8, 1859.

¹⁴ *Evangelisk Kyrkowän*, Apr. 7, 1852; *Hemlandet*, Jan. 15, 1856.

¹⁵ *Evangelisk Kyrkowän*, Feb. 15, 1854, Mar. 14, 1855.

ber of papers and had become formidable, the editor believed the reason for the existence of his paper had ceased, and in December, 1857, publication was discontinued.¹⁶

Victory was not to be won, however, without bitter and effective opposition from the State Church and in the Riksdag. At a meeting of the Society for the Advancement of Religious Freedom, out of 120 ministers in Stockholm only ten were present even for a few hours, and only four or five were present at all sessions. The reasons advanced by the *Evangelisk Kyrkowan*¹⁷ for the aloofness of the clergy were that they realized the weakness of the position of the State Church, and knew that they could not meet the arguments of the other side. In the years 1856–1858 the question was discussed in the Riksdag. The King's proposals recommended slight concessions. Members under eighteen years of age were not to be allowed to sever their connection with the Church; children must remain in the Church even though their parents had gone into another church before their birth; and fines or imprisonment were to be imposed on anyone circulating doctrines contrary to Lutheranism.¹⁸ The law was modified to the extent that under certain restrictions conventicles could be held by members of the Established Church without the leadership of Lutheran pastors, and in 1860 the organization of congregations of other faiths was allowed.¹⁹ The removal of other legal impediments to religious freedom awaited a much later date; and for some time it was as unfashionable to be a dissenter in Sweden as it was to be a Methodist in England in the early years of that movement.

Another movement that shook the religious foundations of Sweden and found echoes among her sons in America was the "Evangeliska Fosterlandsstiftelse", founded in 1856, with headquarters in Stockholm. With no intention of separating from the State Church but with the slogan "The Evangelization of the Fatherland", meetings were held, colporteurs were sent out, and religious

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Oct. 31, 1857; cf. Cornelius, *Svenska Kyrkans Historia*, I. 323, 324.

¹⁷ Oct. 13, 1852.

¹⁸ *Hemlandet*, July 28, 1857; *Evangelisk Kyrkowan*, Nov. 30, 1857.

¹⁹ Cornelius, *Svenska Kyrkans Historia*, I. 323, 324. In response to an inquiry from a Swedish commission to study the causes of emigration, "L. G. H.", who emigrated to Minnesota in 1882, wrote: "As long as I cursed, danced, drank a little, and responded well at catechetical meetings—which I always did—I was praised by the worthy fathers. But when I abandoned the life of sin and took Christianity seriously, with the Bible for my guide, I was threatened with imprisonment." *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bilaga VII., *Utvandrarnes egna Uppgifter* (Stockholm, 1908), pp. 168, 169.

tracts were circulated. At the annual meetings discussions centred around the problems of a State Church and separatism and the methods of bringing the Gospel to the masses.²⁰

This laymen's movement was bitterly opposed by the State Church. The chapels and meeting-houses in many instances split congregations and turned many away from the Church and its ministers. The colporteurs were criticized because of their alleged un-Lutheran preaching, and they in turn retaliated by attacking the ministers and circulating petitions in favor of religious freedom.²¹

How did these religious movements which have been briefly described affect emigration and the emigrants? For one thing, the dissenters and lay preachers were accused of infecting the entire country with the emigration fever, or "America fever", as it later came to be called; and undoubtedly they did. Brace, an English traveller, reports the following conversation with a man near Karlskrona: "Many hundred [emigrants have gone] from my village. Fools! They could do much better at home. Sweden wants every one now. But it is the cursed *Läsare*. . . . They turn every one upside down. They make disturbances and break the law, and then, . . . they must be punished; and so they go to carry on their accursed doings in America."²² The regular correspondent of *Hemlandet*²³ in Sweden wrote in 1869:

For many years patriots have watched, with dumb amazement, the increasing emigration; but never, from the standpoint of the mother country, has it been so distressing as it is this year, for the larger number of emigrants is made up of young, vigorous people, to a large degree from that group called *Läsare*—in other words, those who have with earnestness grappled with the greatest end of life: to live holy and to die happy.

The character of the first Swedish ministers in America and the organization of their churches reflect clearly the religious conditions in the homeland. The pioneer ministers had come under the influence of pietism and had sprung from the ranks and not from the official classes.²⁴ In church polity they took care that their organization should present as little similarity as possible to the State Church.

²⁰ *Budbäraren* (organ of Evangeliska Fosterlandsstiftelsen), July, 1859.

²¹ *Hemlandet*, June 3, 1857; *Wäktaren*, Sept. 7, 1868; *Nya Posten* (Stockholm), Oct. 22, 1875.

²² Charles L. Brace, *The Norse-Folk; or, a Visit to the Homes of Norway and Sweden* (London, 1857), pp. 406, 407.

²³ Aug. 10, 1869.

²⁴ Cf. A. A. Stomberg, "Early Efforts at Scandinavian Church Union in America", in *Yearbook* of the Swedish Historical Society of America, 1923-1924, pp. 7-34.

In all essentials each congregation was autonomous.²⁵ And as for setting up the office of bishop, the possibility was too remote for serious consideration. From the beginning the founders were clear that little or no support, either in recruiting ministers or in lending financial aid, could be expected from Sweden, where the official classes regarded the emigrants as little short of traitors to their native land.²⁶ The first congregations, therefore, affiliated with the Synod of Northern Illinois, which had been organized by the Americanized descendants of the founders of German Lutheran churches in the colony of Pennsylvania. Not a few of the immigrants turned away from the church of their fathers and became Methodists and Baptists or spurned church membership.

The Rev. Lars Paul Esbjörn, the first Swedish Lutheran minister among the nineteenth-century immigrants, in 1850 wrote to Doctor Badger of the American Home Missionary Society about the difficulties of working among his countrymen. They have been members of the Established Church, he says, and a large number have lived where there was little true religion taught. They scoff at repentance and grace.²⁷ It is hardly necessary to be reminded of the Bishop Hill colony in Henry County, Illinois, founded by Eric Jansonists hounded out of Sweden, a theocratic, communistic society utterly unlike anything dreamed of in the old country. The efforts of Gustaf Unonius of the Swedish colony at Pine Lake, Wisconsin, to lead his countrymen into the Episcopal Church, ended in dismal failure. The very fact that on his visits to the scattered Swedish settlements he urged the necessity of a clergy ordained by bishops reveals his utter failure to understand the nonconformist slant of the immigrants.

At a meeting of the General Synod at Pittsburgh in 1859, of which the Synod of Northern Illinois was a constituent member, the Rev. Mr. Esbjörn paid a warm tribute to the Christian fellowship of the American Home Missionary Society, supported by the Congregationalists.²⁸ If this society, he said, had acted upon the principle of giving only to those who conformed to certain views, he would never have been able to preach the Gospel and to do what he had done among the Scandinavians. That society, he continued, had

²⁵ Cf. C. J. Bengtson, "Ett Sjuttiofemårsminne", in *Korsbaneret* (Rock Island, Ill., 1925), pp. 7-15.

²⁶ *Hemlandet*, Nov. 21, 1856, May 11, 1859; Hans Mattson, *Reminiscences, the Story of an Emigrant* (St. Paul, Minn., 1892), p. 111.

²⁷ Erik Norelius, *De Svenska Luterska Forsamlingarnas och Svenskarnes Historia i Amerika* (Rock Island, Ill., 1890), pp. 134, 135.

²⁸ *Pittsburgh Gazette*, quoted by the *Missionary*, June 2, 1859.

aided him, asking no questions as to what sect he belonged to—none but “Do you desire to build up the Kingdom of Christ?” The gifted Rev. T. N. Hasselquist, the greatest constructive leader the American Swedish Lutheran Church has produced, demonstrated that his Christianity knew no rigid denominational boundaries by writing a letter to the same society expressing gratitude for the aid extended.²⁹ He believed that God had allowed the sects to come into Sweden because of the spiritual deadness of the State Church.³⁰

The immigrants quickly sensed the different spirit of the American ministers, Lutheran as well as non-Lutheran. “In America”, writes an immigrant of 1849, in a letter to friends and relatives describing his journey and first impressions of America, “the shepherd seeks the sheep and gathers them to his bosom, and does not conduct himself after the manner of Sweden, where the sheep must seek the shepherd and address him with high-sounding titles, perhaps, only to be snubbed and upbraided for deserting the Fatherland.”³¹

In many communities itinerant Baptist and Methodist preachers made great inroads on the membership of Swedish Lutheran churches, rival churches often being organized.³² The Lutheran preachers pleaded in vain with many countrymen that their church was very different from the institution they were compelled to support in the old country.³³ Olof Olson, one of the men who led the Eric Jansonists to their Illinois colony, wrote from America that emigrants should not worry about receiving uncomplimentary letters of dismissal from the parish pastors, because in America the situation was well understood; and as there was no established church or priestly aristocracy in the republic, the poorer the letter the more cordial and hearty would be the welcome.³⁴

To the clergy and official classes in Sweden America was anathema. The spectacle of ministers in the pulpit condemning America as a Godless country, ravaged by sects, and denouncing emigrants as “traitors” and “unfaithful sons” was by no means unusual. The following is an extract from a sermon dealing almost entirely with emigration:

²⁹ *Home Missionary*, July, 1853.

³⁰ *Hemlandet*, June 3, 1857.

³¹ Letter of Steffan Steffanson, October, 1849, in manuscript collection of the Minnesota Historical Society.

³² Philip J. Stoneberg, “Swedish Camp Meetings”, in Henry L. Kiner, *History of Henry County, Illinois*, I. 159, 160.

³³ Cf. Rev. T. N. Hasselquist's reply to letter of O. G. Hedström, a Swedish Methodist minister, in *Hemlandet*, Jan. 24, 1856.

³⁴ Address of Jonas W. Olson, in *Semi-Centennial of Bishop Hill*, p. 24.

My dear friends! Do not go to America! Remain in your own country and conduct yourselves honorably! Those who emigrate to that unhappy country usually meet a terrible fate. They are seized by violent diseases and die in the most extreme distress. Nobody helps them; nobody comforts them; nobody takes care of them. They sink in the arms of death and their last moments are embittered by the thought that they wantonly deserted their dear native land. After death their bodies are thrown on the beach like the carcasses of animals. Nobody thinks of burial in consecrated ground. Vultures gather about the corpse and devour it, and the bones are bleached by the sun and wind.³⁵

That the clergy were under pressure to exert their influence to counteract emigration is undoubtedly true. A highly respected rector in the province of Norrland, in reply to this pressure, stated that although in the past he had issued warnings against emigration, he would refrain from doing so in the future for the following reasons: (1) He is set down as a liar by prospective emigrants when he cites statements published in the newspapers, for letters from America tell of good fortune and satisfaction and advise emigration; (2) conditions in Sweden are such that one can not wonder that people wish to leave; (3) the activities of agents and others interested in emigration nullify his efforts; (4) "No effective method can be devised to check the *Wanderlust* until a larger number of emigrants return to the Fatherland and relate in convincing fashion how their anticipations have been disappointed".³⁶

The outbreak of the American Civil War was a welcome opportunity for the anti-America propagandists. Every emigration agent was now said to be a recruiting officer in the employ of the Federal government. The activity of the Copperheads and peace Democrats was said to presage the downfall of republican government and the establishment of a military dictatorship. *Wäktaren*³⁷ copied with glee articles in *Hemlandet* reciting the Ku Klux disturbances in the South. The corruption of the Grant administration and the Hayes-Tilden disputed election, according to these papers, only confirmed what had already been revealed about the instability of American institutions and the unreliability of everything American. "See there, you radicals and demagogues, what the highly praised democracy leads to! Look at your ideal, the great Union, about to cleave asunder! How blessed it is to live in a monarchy and by the grace of God to be subjects of a king."³⁸

³⁵ *Amerika* (Göteborg), May 18, 1872.

³⁶ *Gefleposten*, quoted in *Hemlandet*, July 30, 1867.

³⁷ Apr. 20, 1871.

³⁸ *Nya Dagliga Allehanda*, quoted in *Minnesota Stats Tidning* (St. Paul), Apr. 26, 1877.

It must be evident to the student of history that the effort "to frighten the Swedish peasants out of emigrating by untruthful accounts of America and by painting the New World in the darkest colors" was a colossal mistake.³⁹ It was pouring oil on fire. The emigrants quickly divined the motives of the press and clergy.⁴⁰ They had as little confidence in the press as the more intelligent American workingman has to-day. They readily believed the emigration agents who charged that the papers were controlled by the upper classes who profited by the labor of the dependent classes.⁴¹

A new type of newspaper appeared during the years under review—the so-called "scandal press". These sheets reflected the Swedish characteristic of belittling their own country and praising things foreign. Whatever the reasons, love for and loyalty to country were waning in thousands of Swedish breasts; glowing and often exaggerated "America letters" presented a contrast between things as they were in Sweden and things as they ought to be and were in America that was bound to tax the capacity of emigrant ships. In the words of one of the "scandal editors", to find the cause of emigration in the activity of emigration agents was like laying the blame for drinking on the saloons and the blame for frivolity on the Royal Theatre.⁴² In truth the fields were white, and the agents only reaped the harvest.

An interesting experiment in journalism was made in Göteborg in the beginning of the 'seventies. This paper, appropriately named *Amerika*, was undoubtedly financed by emigration companies and others pecuniarily interested in stimulating emigration. It is interesting, as well as pertinent, to see what, in the opinion of the publishers, were the most effective forms of propaganda. According to advance announcements, the paper disclaimed all intention of encouraging emigration among those who preferred to end their days on native soil; "but it would not chime in with the conservative tone which up to the present had characterized the larger part of the Swedish press".⁴³ Making its appeal to the peasant and working classes, the paper printed news from America and from Swedish-American settlements, articles on American institutions and customs,

³⁹ Letter of Erik Norelius, a Swedish-American Lutheran minister, dated at Göteborg, to *Hemlandet*, June 9, 1868.

⁴⁰ Letter from "A. L.", Melrose, Minnesota, to *Hemlandet*, Sept. 4, 1866. "A. L." inquired of many immigrants who passed his house their reasons for leaving Sweden.

⁴¹ Nisbeth, *Två År i Amerika* (1872), pp. 130 et seq.

⁴² *Amerika*, June 15, 1872; cf. *Wäktaren*, July 9, 1868.

⁴³ *Wäktaren*, Oct. 14, 1869, copied the announcement from *Hemlandet*.

advertisements of steamship, railway, and land companies, and sharp criticisms of Sweden. Perhaps a fair idea of the contents of the paper may be gained from a lecture delivered in a Baptist church in Göteborg and published in full in several installments.⁴⁴

America is the promised land of Europe's oppressed people. That country has just passed through a war by which the last remnant of European despotism has been abolished. Previously America had freed itself from militarism and priestcraft. The Swedish government discourages emigration on the pretext that Sweden has need of all her workingmen. But how can this be true when thousands are unemployed and glad to work for their board? Can not we get along without a few thousand emigrants who go to America to cultivate a rich soil and thereby bring blessings to thousands of starving countrymen? The government can spare ten times as many men to lose their lives in war for political purposes. "We could not in good conscience dissuade the Swedish workingman from migrating across the ocean, were it in our power to do so, because if we were in his position we would do exactly as he is doing. If it be said that this reveals absence of love for country, we reply: Give us a country worthy of our love! Teach us to cherish it, to love its institutions, laws, and customs! Give us at least our daily bread!" In the long run emigration will solve Sweden's problems by bringing reforms to stop it.⁴⁵ The poor people of Sweden are taxed in order that the people of Stockholm may have their evening amusement at the Royal Theatre with a personnel of 300 and a yearly salary amounting to 400,000 *riksdaler* and other expenses. The people have not been granted universal suffrage. They have found that the change in the system of representation was only a marriage alliance between the first and second classes, which went into one chamber, and between the other two, *borgare* and *bönder*, in the other chamber.⁴⁶ Moreover, the people have not been granted religious freedom, even though it is known that the restriction is one of the first and foremost causes of emigration. The Riksdag has not granted

⁴⁴ *Amerika*, issues from Mar. 22 to May 8, 1872. The lecture was delivered by G. W. Schröder, a Baptist who had resided some years in America.

⁴⁵ In a letter from Göteborg to *Hemlandet*, June 9, 1868, Rev. Erik Norelius expresses the same opinion.

⁴⁶ Down to 1866 the Riksdag was composed of four chambers, representing respectively four classes of the population: nobles, clergy, burgesses, and peasants. Each chamber had one vote, and with the exception of amendments to the Constitution, a majority was sufficient to pass measures. After 1866 there were two chambers, the members of which had to satisfy rather high property qualifications. The members of the lower chamber, the more democratic body, were elected by a complicated system of compound voting.

the right of holding office to those who are not members of the State Church.

The ministers of the Established Church were targets for the sarcastic shafts of *Amerika*. Cases where dissenters were arrested and fined under the Konventikel-Plakat were played up with thrusts at a system that permitted persecution.⁴⁷ Returned emigrants who expressed dissatisfaction with America and called it a land of humbug were handled without gloves. Their past was pried into, and efforts were made to find unworthy motives in each case.⁴⁸ In the instance of Gustaf Unonius, who returned after a stay of seventeen years in America and joined the ranks of the anti-emigration propagandists, it was alleged that he had been rewarded with a profitable position in the customs service.⁴⁹

No one can examine the files of the newspapers of Sweden for these years without coming to the conclusion that deep dissatisfaction with the forms of society reigned among the masses. There was a feeling that the real cause of poverty was bad government and a form of Christianity corrupted by alliance with the civil authority.

Sometimes when I read about Sweden in the papers, that country looks pretty dark to me, [wrote a Swedish immigrant in 1866 to relatives in Sweden]. I am afraid that the new system of electing members to the Riksdag will work to the detriment of the country, because only the wealthy will be chosen to both chambers. The landowners wish only to oppress the tenants. . . . And from what I hear your king is an intriguer who wants everything on a grand scale without counting the cost. . . . In America people live much better than in Sweden. We have wheat bread and meat every day, sugar syrup at every meal, and eggs as well as many other things as often as desired.⁵⁰

This is the spirit of the "America letters", which were read and reread in family circles and in larger groups. Imagine the effect of the information that Jonas August "has been mining gold in Idaho Territory, and has in cash \$4,000 over and above all expenses";⁵¹ that "we have four cows and six sheep";⁵² that "we sold our farm last winter for \$880";⁵³ that "we have five horses, seventeen cattle,

⁴⁷ *Amerika*, Apr. 6, 1872.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, May 18, 1872.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, Apr. 27, 1872.

⁵⁰ Oliver Stephenson to Jonas P. Zackrisson, Mount Pleasant, Iowa, Dec. 15, 1866. *Yearbook of the Swedish Historical Society of America, 1921-1922*, pp. 81, 82.

⁵¹ John Z. Sandahl to Jonas P. Zackrisson, Jefferson County, Iowa, Feb. 22, 1864. *Ibid.*, p. 72.

⁵² Mary Stephenson to the same, New Sweden, Iowa, Aug. 2, 1864. *Ibid.*, p. 77.

⁵³ Oliver Stephenson to the same, New Sweden, Iowa, Aug. 2, 1864. *Ibid.*, p. 73.

thirteen sheep, and twenty-four hogs";⁵⁴ that "I have deposited \$800.00 in a bank"!⁵⁵ What a contrast the following comments present: "One often hears the emigrants sneeringly refer to 'this wretched country' which they are anxious to leave but to which they will many times yearn to return—in vain."⁵⁶ "Few are hopeful and optimistic about Sweden's future. This has a depressing effect and is calculated to awaken gloom and dissatisfaction."⁵⁷

A very fruitful field for emigration agents was found among that indomitable people which eked out a frugal existence on the stony and sterile soil of Småland. It has been said that if a Smålander were marooned on a rock in mid-Atlantic waters, he would make a living. In the best of days his table was bare of everything but the mere necessities. Meatless and wheatless days were no novelties for him. In the years 1867, 1868, and 1869 a succession of crop failures reduced the entire population of the province to the verge of starvation.⁵⁸ From April to September, 1868, rain fell only two or three times and then only for two or three hours. Everything was scorched by the sizzling heat; trees were burned black and died. Nobody remembered such a drought.⁵⁹ The lean cows roamed at large; houses and farms were deserted. At every station, says an eyewitness, crowds were gathered, begging for money and bread.⁶⁰ The unripe rye was chopped up, dried in ovens, ground into flour, and made into bread. When even this scanty fare was denied, grass was eaten. In desperation those who were able stampeded to America, Germany, Mecklenburg, and Hanover, many abandoning farms and sacrificing everything of value they possessed.

In these years of readjustment the agitator was coming into his own even in conservative, law-abiding Sweden.⁶¹ Mass meetings,⁶² hitherto almost unknown, were not only barometers of discontent but also effective means of disseminating it. At first confined to the smaller places, where the attendance was not large enough to cause serious misgivings,⁶³ meetings and attendance increased until as many

⁵⁴ Oliver Stephenson to the same, Mount Pleasant, Iowa, Dec. 15, 1866. *Ibid.*, p. 83.

⁵⁵ John Z. Sandahl to the same, Rome, Henry County, Iowa, Jan. 7, 1860. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

⁵⁶ *Göteborgs Posten*, quoted in *Wäktaren*, May 14, 1868.

⁵⁷ Erik Norelius to *Hemlandet*, July 7, 1868.

⁵⁸ *Wäktaren* and *Hemlandet*, 1867, 1868, 1869.

⁵⁹ Correspondence from Lemnhults socken, Jönköpings län, to *Wäktaren*, Dec. 17, 1868.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, Apr. 15, 1869.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, Aug. 26, 1869.

⁶² *Folkmöten*.

⁶³ *Hemlandet*, Nov. 20, 1855.

as 10,000 were reported as assembled at a demonstration in Skåne.⁶⁴ This meeting was called by a group of ultras, and, in the words of a hostile newspaper, it is unnecessary to say that the empty ravings about freedom ran like a red thread through every speech.⁶⁵ At these assemblages resolutions were adopted demanding manhood suffrage for the election of members of the Riksdag; the abolition of property qualifications for members of the second chamber; educational reforms, religious freedom, civil marriages only, abolition of imprisonment for debt, mail and telegraph service under one management, no pensions for civil officers above a certain salary grade, discontinuance of superfluous offices, vocational schools giving practical instruction to workingmen and their children, national workshops, and so forth.⁶⁶ The speakers contended that emigration was a necessary consequence of the deplorable conditions and called upon those who condemned it to remove the causes.

It is a well-known fact that the mass of the nineteenth-century emigrants were *bönder* and *törpare*, with the former predominating in the earlier years. The *bönder*, a high-spirited and independent class, usually in comfortable circumstances, were peasant proprietors, and in many cases their farms or estates were large enough to lease small tracts to the *törpare*, who paid rent in kind and furnished a certain number of days' labor. Although the *törpare* were far more prosperous and independent than the serfs on the Continent of Europe, they paid great deference to the *bönder*, to whose exalted station they hoped some day to attain (and many of them did). But it was becoming increasingly difficult to accumulate a reserve. Their small parcels of land seemed even smaller when they read in an "America letter" that Ole Olson, formerly a humble *törpare* in their parish, was the *bona fide* owner of a farm of 160 acres in Iowa. To make matters still worse, Ole had returned for a visit, perhaps wearing American clothes and with American money jingling at every step! The returned Swedish-American was often an unbearable person, but he preached the gospel of America in a language that could not be misunderstood. Some of them were almost illiterate before their great adventure; but, after attending school in America, they returned with a broader vision and knowledge and the ability to answer with intelligence questions about their adopted country.⁶⁷ Certain individuals received free transportation from steamship com-

⁶⁴ *Wäktaren*, Aug. 6, 1868.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, Nov. 26, 1868, July 1, 1869.

⁶⁷ Malmö correspondence of *Snell-Posten*, quoted in *Sändebudet*, May 16, 1870.

panies on condition that they would induce a group of emigrants to take passage on the company's liners.⁶⁸

About the middle of the century many of the *bönder* found themselves in increasing difficulties. Financial stringency had caused banks to call in loans, thus throwing on the market many estates. For centuries it had been the custom for a *bonde* to give his home and land to the oldest son, with the understanding that he would support the parents in their declining years. The fortunate son would give the other heirs their share of the estate in money, going in debt for the amount. Other *bönder*, by a gentlemen's agreement, would gladly loan him the sum without security. But with the multiplication of banks *bönder* began to place money on deposit and to buy bank stock. The tradition of centuries breaking down, the small *bönder* sold their farms, and their sons emigrated to America. By this process the larger farms became divided into small parcels, increasing the number of *törpare*, who in the event of a crop-failure found themselves in financial straits.⁶⁹ It appears also that the patriarchal relation between *bonde* and *torpare* was passing. Rather than let the land on fair or generous terms, *bönder* allowed it to lie fallow, boasting that by depriving the *törpare* of this means of livelihood they would be compelled to work for low wages.⁷⁰

It is not within the province of this paper to consider the background of Swedish immigration beyond 1875, except as it may confirm the thesis set forth. With the turn of the century the Swedish government attacked the problem with an intelligence that was sadly lacking among those who in the early years had tried to stem the tide. A commission was appointed to study the emigration legislation of other countries, to interview Swedish-Americans and emigrants en route, to make inquiries in those parts of the country where emigration was largest, and to solicit information from local authorities, clergy, police, medical officers, forest officials, and agricultural societies. The statistics and information thus assembled were published in the form of comprehensive reports which are mines of information for the researcher.⁷¹ Conditions in agriculture are emphasized above others. The survey revealed the steady undermining of the peasant class, the disappearance of the hereditary

⁶⁸ Snell-Posten, *ibid.*

⁶⁹ Correspondence from Gothland to *Nya Dagliga Allehanda*, quoted in *Wäk-taren*, Apr. 30, 1868.

⁷⁰ *Hemlandet*, June 4, 1867, discusses this question on the basis of letters from Sweden and from immigrants.

⁷¹ Much of this material is incorporated in J. Guinchard (ed.), *Sweden: Historical and Statistical Handbook* (second Eng. ed., Stockholm, 1914).

principle, subdivision of land, the menace of large estates, and the decline of the *torpare*.

The causes of emigration having been determined with intelligence, the methods of combatting it were devised with equal intelligence. With the co-operation of the government the "National Society against Emigration" was organized to make Sweden a better place for the common people and to acquaint them with the opportunities that were open to them.⁷² Through lectures, pamphlets, articles in magazines and newspapers, and schools the work was carried on. Children were to be fostered in the love of country. Laws were enacted to benefit the small farmers and the workingmen in cities. The "own your own home" movement did not stop with fair words; people were actually assisted to become home-owners. Had these steps been taken seventy-five years earlier, the history of Swedish emigration might have been written in very different fashion. The remnants of religious persecution linger on, but they are only faint echoes from the previous century.

As the years roll by, it is becoming increasingly apparent that the American frontier not only reacted upon the older sections of the United States but upon Europe as well. The history of immigration in a very real sense is a chapter in the history of the West; it is a study of the forces that shape the destiny of nations and determine the fortunes of individuals.

GEORGE M. STEPHENSON.

⁷² Adrian Molin, *Några Synpunkter och Förslag af National Societeten mot Emigrationen* (Stockholm, 1901). This valuable pamphlet was issued by the commission appointed to investigate the causes of emigration.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

A NOTE ON THE SAMUEL JOHNSON PAPERS

It may interest some students of American history to know a few particulars about the Johnson manuscripts in the Library of Columbia University.

Hitherto the only interest in Samuel Johnson, first president of King's College, apart from his significance in the history of Columbia University, has been in two directions. Philosophers have been interested in him because of his connections with Bishop Berkeley, and students of Anglican church history have been interested in him because of his leadership in the colonial Anglican Church and in its struggle for an American episcopate. It was this latter interest, primarily, which led Dr. E. E. Beardsley, the historian of the church in Connecticut, to glean what he could from the papers of Samuel Johnson and William Samuel Johnson, his son, and to publish in 1873 the *Life and Correspondence of Samuel Johnson, D.D.* This volume contains numerous quotations from his manuscripts, and gives a fairly detailed account of his life. It also contains most of what fragments remain of his philosophical correspondence, especially that with Bishop Berkeley and Cadwallader Colden. Two letters to Berkeley which Beardsley missed have since been published, though not in entirety, in Professor I. W. Riley's *American Philosophy: the Early Schools*. Professor Riley has also given a fairly adequate account of the more technical philosophical writings of Johnson.

But a more extensive study of the Johnson Papers suggests that they are of more general interest. In the first place they contain valuable material for the history of education in this country. Samuel Johnson kept a list of books read between his graduation from Yale College, in 1714, and his removal to King's College, New York, in 1754. This catalogue is itself an interesting record of the intellectual interests and literary taste of an educated gentleman of the eighteenth century in Connecticut. Most of these books are still intact and assembled in the "Johnson Memorial Library" in the Library of Columbia University. They are especially interesting when compared with similar libraries from elsewhere. Together with comments by Samuel Johnson himself, they constitute telling

evidence of the general intellectual backwardness of Connecticut (and probably New York) when compared not only with England, but even with Boston and Cambridge. They also reveal the almost pathetic attempts of an eager mind to surmount the limitations of his environment and keep abreast of the times.

The most unusual documents in the collection, however, are the early "Synopsis" or "Encyclopaedias of Learning" in which Samuel Johnson organized and systematically summarized the instruction he received in and about Yale College. The earliest are in Latin and reveal a conception of learning and a subject-matter which was decidedly antiquated even for those days. They are a superficial digest of several old scholastic systems, revised mostly by Dutch Protestant theologians. Two treatises on physics are particularly amusing, being curious concoctions of scholastic systems, with the four elements of the Aristotelian physics, the Ptolemaic astronomy, and a cumbersome superstructure of dialectical machinery and formal distinctions. This scholastic education at its worst evidently constituted the framework of his college curriculum. But just as he was preparing to teach it to the next class of boys (1715), copies of Bacon's *Advancement of Learning* and Locke's *Essay* and the Dummer Library came to Yale from England. Johnson's eyes were immediately opened, it seems, to his intellectual poverty and he threw all his carefully constructed synopses to the wind and set out on the "new learning", guided by Locke and Newton. In short, we have here a detailed record of a very significant educational revolution. Samuel Johnson freed himself to a remarkable extent from his early training, except that he never got over the idea of clarifying all "learning" into a formal system of "pan-sophy" or philosophy. And this conception of education had considerable influence not only on his own teaching methods and his text-book (*Elementa Philosophica*) but on his educational aims and policies in general.

In addition to this material the student of the history of education will find in Johnson's autobiography and in his correspondence numerous references to the state of education in general as well as to particular events—the early troubles at Yale (of which Mr. Johnson's own deficiencies seem to have been an important factor), various schemes for college education by prominent educators of the time, the lack of decent grammar schools in New York and vicinity, the attempt to establish Hebrew as a major discipline, etc.

In the second place there is material for the student of political history. The manuscripts reveal much more clearly than the all-too-carefully selected citations in Beardsley indicate, that the

Anglican movement was very definitely political. Samuel Johnson was an ardent Tory. The anarchy and confusion in the Congregational churches, the polemical and arrogant temper of the clergy, the growth of "whiggism" and "free-thought", the shameless growth of "independency", these themes are all inextricably intertwined. More specifically, there are interesting accounts of the unwillingness on the part of the New England Anglicans to see an "established" Congregationalism in the colonies. They used all the arguments and devices to combat the Puritan governments which the Dissenters at home were in the habit of using against themselves. Samuel Johnson, when he found the Anglicans discriminated against in matters of land and taxation, even went so far as to urge definitely that the charters be withdrawn and king *and bishops* be instated immediately, while yet there was hope of crushing the impious tide of free-thinking and independence.

Then too there are numerous scattered political comments from both sides of the water in his correspondence, and a wealth of descriptive material on manners and morals, domestic life, difficulties of travel, the terrors of the smallpox, etc.

I have merely mentioned a few items, enough perhaps to suggest that there is material here which might well be explored by others than philosophers and churchmen. The material is now, for the most part, conveniently bound and catalogued, and though the script is very fine, the writing is unusually clear and free from abbreviations. There are a few of the papers of William Samuel Johnson in the collection, though most of them are in Hartford and Washington. For a full account of the disposition of the Johnson papers see Max Farrand, in the American Antiquarian Society's *Proceedings*, XXIII. 237-246 (1913). About half of the Columbia collection will be published within a few years by the Columbia University Press.

HERBERT WALLACE SCHNEIDER.

THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES

THE initiative taken by the representatives of the American Historical Association in the International Congress of Historical Sciences held in Brussels in 1923, looking towards the creation of a permanent International Committee of Historical Sciences, has produced results which will be of interest to historical scholars in all parts of the world. As has already been related in the pages of the *Review* (XXVIII. 654), the *bureau* of the Brussels Congress was

continued in its functions by the Congress, and was charged with the organization of a permanent international committee which should be as representative as possible of all countries. A preliminary meeting of the *bureau*, acting as a provisional committee, was held in Brussels in 1924, for the purpose of arriving at an agreement as to the best mode of procedure for the organization of a permanent committee. It was evident that unless funds could be secured for the expenses connected with the process of organization and for the essential needs of the committee during its first two or three years of existence it would be difficult, in view of the present state of financial affairs in most European countries, to achieve results of the first importance. Accordingly the American members of the provisional committee (J. T. Shotwell and W. G. Leland) charged themselves with the task of securing such funds and were fortunate enough to receive, from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, a generous and substantial subvention, which was ample for immediate needs and which would allow the permanent committee, when organized, to start upon a modest programme of scientific activities. The subvention was applied for in the name of the American Historical Association and was granted to that body, which is therefore responsible for its expenditure.

Plans were at once laid to hold a conference in Geneva to which practically all the countries that had taken any part in the preceding international congresses (1900, 1903, 1908, 1913, 1923) should be asked to send one or two representatives, the provisional committee agreeing to pay all the expenses of travel incurred by one delegate or three-fourths of the expenses of two delegates. Invitations were thus extended to twenty-seven countries, of which only five (Chile, Finland, Greece, Hungary, Yugoslavia) had failed to respond by the time of the conference. Three of the countries which accepted participation in the conference were unable to send delegates, so there were in all nineteen countries represented when the conference finally assembled, on the morning of May 14, in the same room in the Athénée where, in 1863, the International Society of the Red Cross was organized. Austria was represented by Professors Alfons Dopsch of Vienna and Harold Steinacker of Innsbruck; Belgium by Professor H. Pirenne of Ghent; Brazil by Sr. A. de Castro, secretary of the Brazilian delegation to the League of Nations; Bulgaria by Professor J. Ivanoff, of Sofia; Czechoslovakia by Professor J. Susta of the Charles University of Prague; Denmark by Professor Aage Friis of Copenhagen and Dr. Axel Linvald, chief of the archives of that city; France by Professor G. Glotz of the

Sorbonne and Professor M. Lh  ritier, attached to the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation; Germany by Professor H. Reincke-Bloch of Breslau, president of the Union of German Historians, and Professor K. Brandi of G  ttingen; Italy by Senator Carlo Calisse and Professor G. de Sanctis of Turin; Japan by Dr. I. Nitobe, under-secretary of the League of Nations and member of the Imperial Academy; the Netherlands by Professor H. T. Colenbrander of Leiden; Norway by Professors H. Koht and E. Bull of Oslo; Poland by Professor B. Dembinski of Posen and Professor M. Handelsman of Warsaw; Portugal by Dr. A. Ferr  o of Lisbon; Rumania by Dr. V. P  rvan, permanent secretary of the section of letters of the Rumanian Academy; Spain by Dr. Nicolau d'Olwer and Dr. R. d'Al  s-Moner, both of the Institute of Catalan Studies of Barcelona; Sweden by Dr. Carl Hallendorff of Stockholm; Switzerland by Professor Francis De Crue of Geneva and M. Ed. Fabvre, vice-president of the Swiss Historical Society; and the United States by Waldo G. Leland, of the Carnegie Institution of Washington.¹ The British delegates, Professors Tout and Temperley, were unfortunately prevented from attending the conference because of the general strike in England, and the Argentine delegate, Sr. J. Revello, did not receive notice of the conference in time to be present. The Russian Academy of Sciences of Leningrad expressed its desire to participate in the organization of the committee but was unable to send delegates to the Geneva conference.

The opening session of the conference was presided over by Professor Pirenne, president of the provisional committee, who welcomed the delegates. Mr. Leland, secretary of the provisional committee, presented a draft of statutes or constitution for the permanent organization, which were discussed, referred to a drafting committee, and adopted without prolonged debate. The constitution of the committee is relatively short, is simple, and has a desirable degree of elasticity. The object of the committee is declared to be the development of the historical sciences by means of international co-operation. The committee is charged with organizing the international congresses of historical sciences, with determining the time and place at which each congress shall be held, with providing for the formation of the national committees which will have the arrangements for the congresses immediately in hand, with determining upon the regulations which are to govern the congress, and with the publication of the proceedings. The committee is declared to be composed of the delegates of all countries which are

¹ The other American delegate, Professor Shotwell, was unable to be present.

admitted to representation, each sovereign country being entitled to two delegates having votes, the non-sovereign countries (dominions, colonies, etc.) having one voting delegate each. Any number of adjunct delegates may be sent as experts by the various countries but these may not vote. It is understood that in each country the delegates shall be chosen by the learned bodies and institutions which carry on historical studies, and that these shall be so grouped as to make the choice of delegates as representative as possible of the historical interests of the country. The committee reserves the right to examine the credentials of delegates in order to assure their representative character in cases of disputes that may arise.

The committee must meet at least once a year in a place and at a time which it shall determine upon, except that in the year in which an international congress is held the committee must meet in the same place and at the same time as the congress. To constitute a quorum the presence of delegates of more than half the countries represented in the committee is required. Voting in the first instance is by persons, and a majority of three-fourths is requisite. If such a majority can not be obtained a vote by country is to be taken, each country casting as many votes as it is entitled to voting delegates. This vote must be by a majority of two-thirds, but if it is impossible to secure such a majority, a second vote by countries is to be taken, the majority to prevail. Provision is made for voting by correspondence in the case of urgent and important matters, when it is not practicable to hold a general session.

The committee is administered by a *bureau*, composed of a president, two vice-presidents, four *membres assesseurs*, a general secretary, and a treasurer. This bureau is elected at the time of the international congress and holds office until the next international congress, when its composition must be changed to at least the extent of the president and three other members. At least five countries must always be represented in the bureau. Each country represented in the committee is to pay annual dues, which must be the same for all countries, but which have not yet been determined. These dues are for the administrative expenses of the committee, a special budget being maintained for scientific activities, which will be alimented by contributions, and by transfers from the administrative budget. The legal headquarters of the committee, for purely formal and financial matters, are for the time being fixed at Washington. (The effective secretariat of the committee will of course be in the offices of the general secretary.) Amendments to the constitution may be proposed by the delegates of three different

countries, and the committee must declare itself dissolved if the number of countries represented in it should fall below five.

Such then is the constitution of the committee. Before proceeding to elect the first officers it was agreed to decide upon the place of the next congress, the principle being tacitly adopted that the president of the committee should also be president of the congress. Invitations had previously been presented from Warsaw, Athens, and Oslo, and a fourth invitation was now received from the Hague. The Polish delegates, however, withdrew the invitation to Warsaw, though expressing the hope that the congress of 1933 might be held there; the invitation from Athens was not seconded, there being no Greek delegate present, so it was not considered as still being in force, while the Dutch delegate explained that the invitation to the Hague was not to be considered as competing with the invitation from any other city. The invitation from Oslo was then accepted by a unanimous vote. On the motion of Professor Koht the committee adopted a resolution favorable to holding the congress of 1933 in Warsaw, but did not undertake to make a binding decision in the matter.

The election of officers resulted in the following choices: For president, Professor Halvdan Koht, of the University of Oslo; for vice-presidents, Professors Dopsch (Vienna) and Pirenne (Ghent); for the four *membres assessesurs*, Professors Dembinski (Posen), de Sanctis (Turin), Friedrich Meinecke (Berlin), and Temperley (Cambridge, England); for general secretary, M. Michel Lh  ritier, International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, Paris; and for treasurer, Mr. Waldo G. Leland, Carnegie Institution of Washington.

The business of organization being out of the way the committee was able thenceforth to devote itself to scientific matters. Various projects were proposed as worthy of the committee's attention. Of these the most important was the proposal made to the Brussels Congress in 1923 by Dr. J. F. Jameson for the revival, under international auspices, of the *Jahresberichte der Geschichtswissenschaft*. A careful study of the question of international historical bibliography, made by M. Lh  ritier, was presented to the committee and formed the basis of discussion. It was finally decided to refer the matter to a special committee composed in part of members of the bureau and in part of experts in historical bibliography, which should hold a meeting during the coming summer for the purpose of determining upon the plan of the undertaking and the method of its execution. Other proposals were for a list of the diplomatic agents of the different countries, commencing perhaps with 1648,

and for the preparation of a general historical atlas. Both of these were discussed and were referred to the *bureau* for further study.

It was decided that the committee should at once commence the publication of a Bulletin, which should contain its proceedings, and such other matter (not of scientific character) as might be decided upon. A summary survey of the organizations of historical scholars in the different countries was determined upon, this to be published in an early number of the Bulletin. The committee approved the effort by an international group of scholars, organized at the congress in Brussels, to establish an international review of economic history—chiefly a journal of information, and approved the proposal by Sr. de Castro, the Brazilian representative, that in all the undertakings of the committee an effort should be made to establish and maintain close scientific relations with historical scholars and organizations in the Latin-American countries, as well as with those in other parts of the world outside of Europe.

Before adjourning the bureau decided to hold a meeting in October; the second annual meeting of the committee will be held in the spring of 1927 at a place to be determined by the *bureau*. In general it is expected that the annual meetings of the committee will be held in different cities, thus equalizing the burden of attendance as well as counteracting any tendency toward fixity of procedure.

The members of the committee were entertained at dinner by the American Historical Association, on which occasion the thanks of the committee were extended in the warmest terms to the American organization, together with many words of appreciation of the part which it had played in bringing about the conference. The committee was entertained at tea in the building of the League of Nations by Dr. Nitobe, and also visited the exceedingly interesting archives of the city of Geneva.

In closing this brief account, especial mention should be made of the spirit of friendliness and sympathy which pervaded the conference from its opening to its close, and which contributed in so large a measure to the success of the effort to organize a permanent international body. On the part of all the delegates there was evident the sincere pleasure which they experienced in this first meeting, after the dark years of disunion, and the firm and confident hope with which they looked to the future. It was agreed by all that a step was being taken which would lead to the most desirable and important results, and the effect of which would be felt not only in the field of the historical sciences but in all the fields of learning and even in the domain of political relations.

WALDO G. LELAND.

DOCUMENTS

Commerce between France and the United States, 1783-1784

So long as the English colonies in America were subject to the mother country, direct commerce with the other European powers was forbidden them. The commercial monopoly which the mother country claimed, though far from being constantly maintained in practice, was a hindrance to the economic development of the colonies, and was certainly one of the chief causes of the revolt against Great Britain.¹

The alliance of the colonies with France took immediate effect in the treaty of alliance and *commerce*, signed February 6, 1778.² That treaty provided, for both powers, the "most favored nation" clause (arts. III. and IV.) ; and article XXX. declared further, that the Most Christian King would grant the subjects of the United States "one or more free ports in Europe, where they may bring and dispose of all the produce and merchandise of the thirteen United States, and His Majesty will also continue to the subjects of the said states the free ports which have been and are open in the French islands of America".

When the war had ended and the independence of the United State had at last been recognized, the government of France and the merchants of her ports alike interested themselves in the new market which would now be open to commerce. We have been able to bring together, from among the papers of the Chamber of Commerce of Nantes, a number of interesting documents,³ which cast a strong light on the efforts made to give value to these new relations, or rather upon the plans prepared for that purpose by the government and by the merchants.

First, the minister of marine, Maréchal de Castries,⁴ in a letter to M. de Sourdeval, based on the reports of consuls, indicates to the merchants of Nantes the commercial methods which appear likely

¹ See E. R. Johnson, *History of Domestic and Foreign Commerce of the United States* (Washington, 1915) ; A. M. Schlesinger, *The Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution* (New York, 1918).

² Cf. H. Doniol, *Histoire de la Participation de la France à l'Établissement des États-Unis d'Amérique* (Paris, 1886-1900).

³ Preserved in the departmental archives of the Loire-Inférieure, C 752.

⁴ Secrétaire d'état de la marine, 1780-1787 ; succeeded by M. de la Luzerne (1787-1790).

to be the best. The consignments for Philadelphia had been very badly made up; it was essential to compose the cargoes better in the future. The minister declares that at the beginning of 1783 French goods ranged from 8 to 12 per cent. cheaper than the English. This was particularly true of cloth. It seems that France ought to obtain preference also for cotton goods, silks, millinery, gauze, perfumes, and gloves. Her linens are highly esteemed, but are too dear. England seems to have the advantage in respect to pottery, hardware, glass, and carpets (mirrors and carpets ought to be of quite small dimensions). French brandies and wines, especially those of Bordeaux, are in demand.

The English have the advantage of a very long experience in commerce with the United States. Another advantage is that their packing is much superior. The Maréchal de Castries emphasizes the necessity of granting long credits to American customers, as the English do.

It is for the French to consider and judge whether they can not make some experiments of the same procedure. Money is very scarce in America, and probably will long be so, and the dealer is often obliged to make his arrangements rather with the Englishman, who gives him credit, than with the Frenchman, who can give him less credit, but who would furnish him the same goods at a better price.

The tariff duties which the Congress is proposing should be, it would seem, quite favorable, for they are at the rate of five per cent.; to this should be added the special duties imposed by the different states, which are of two per cent. South Carolina even accords special advantages to France; and Pennsylvania has abolished, September 17, the duties which had been placed on wines during the war.

The consul of France, M. de Marbois,⁵ also emphasizes the necessity of long credits, and the advantages French merchants would have in dealing directly with the American retailers. He shows the danger there is in letting the ship-captains or supercargoes do the negotiating; pressed for time, they make hasty sales, and also make up the return cargoes with haste. The needful thing is to have permanent correspondents in America, honest and skilled men, acquainted with both languages; they can act according to circumstances. The assembly of Carolina having decreed, in addition to the other duties, a tax of two per cent. on the goods of transient passengers, the minister thinks this to be still another

⁵ See *American Historical Review*, XXIX. 725-726.

argument in favor of sending "substantial national agents" to America.⁶

The merchants of Nantes, whose representations are published below, foresee the difficulties which the new commercial relations will encounter. One of these memoirs, very pessimistic, declares that no delusions ought to be entertained respecting their success. France will indeed find in the United States some market for her silks, her muslins, and some other kinds of cloth. The Americans, it adds, will not be slow to establish manufactories, for they will set out cotton plantations in Georgia and Carolina, flax and hemp grow in New England, and the products of their factories and their grain and flour will invade the markets of Europe.

All the memoirs agree in urging that all the appropriate measures shall be taken for developing exports from France to the United States; toward that end, French merchandise and products should be made exempt from all export duties; without this, it will be impossible to meet English competition.

To encourage importations of American products into France, bonded warehouses for them should be established, in which goods that are to be reshipped to other countries can remain two years.⁷ It is also thought that only light import duties should be laid on American goods. Even so, one of the memoirs maintains that no very large amount of imports should be counted on; in respect to tobacco, rice, and indigo, the Dutch will give French commerce the most formidable competition.

All the memoirs agree also in urging that all the products of the foreign fisheries should be absolutely prohibited from entry; any other course will be the ruin of the French fisheries.

The merchants of all the ports request energetically that the French monopoly of the colonial commerce shall be maintained. One of them says on this subject:

Every one agrees that the colonies were founded to contribute to the maintenance of the inhabitants of the mother country, by the consumption of its goods and manufactures, for which they pay by sending in exchange products which the state needs, and which give the twofold advantage of supplying a great increase to industry and at the same time a very large volume of exports.

In conformity with this doctrine, the merchants of Havre declare that no French products ought to be admitted into the French colonies except on French ships, that American flour and dried fish

⁶ In the same letter, Maréchal de Castries expresses the opinion that special success can be had in the Carolinas and Georgia, "which have no navigation".

⁷ See document no. V.

ought to have no entry into the French West Indies, the only exceptions being timber, staves, livestock, hides, resin, and tar; in exchange, the Americans ought not to be permitted to take away anything from the colonies but molasses, rum, and European manufactures.

The French government in fact gave satisfaction to the merchants, by the *arrêt du conseil* of December 29, 1787, which endeavored to facilitate the commercial relations between France and the United States.⁸ This *arrêt* granted the right of deposit to American goods during six months in all the ports of France that were open to the commerce of the colonies. American whale-oil was to pay in France a duty of only 7 l. 10 s. per barrel of 520 pounds; grain, rice, pease, beans, flour, potash, hides, furs, lumber, etc., were to pay an import duty of only 8 per cent.; turpentine, resin, and tar 2½ per cent. Firearms destined for the United States were to pay as export duty only 8 per cent. *ad valorem*, and gunpowder and paper of all sorts were to be exempt from all export duties. American fish-oil and salt fish were to pay no more than those of the Hanse towns and the most favored nations. Finally, bounties were promised to encourage the transportation to the United States of firearms, hardware, jewelry, millinery, woolen and cotton goods.

American independence contributed to the destruction of the mother country's monopoly of colonial commerce. Contraband trade had indeed never ceased to undermine this monopoly, even in the time of Colbert, as Mr. Mims has so clearly shown.⁹ In vain did the letters patent of 1717 forbid the colonists of "the isles of America" to carry their goods to foreign countries, and ship-captains to take to foreign countries cargoes destined for the Antilles. The French West Indian colonies had to be provided with wood, flour, and fish, which North America furnished, and, after the loss of Canada, could still less dispense with the goods furnished by the English colonies. Contraband trade was the more active because the English colonies, on their part, had need of the products of the French Indies, sugar, coffee, indigo.

Yielding to the urgent representations of the colonists, the royal government, as early as 1763, by its declaration of April 18 of that year, permitted the importation into the colonial ports of livestock, pease, beans, fruits, and lumber, and authorized exportation of molasses and rum from them. The *arrêt du conseil* of July 29, 1767, confirmed and rounded out this declaration; from that time

⁸ Isambert, *Anciennes Lois Françaises*, XXVIII. 489-492.

⁹ S. L. Mims, *Colbert's West India Policy* (New Haven, 1912).

on, two ports served as depots for foreign merchandise, the careenage of St. Lucia and Mole St. Nicolas in Santo Domingo. Despite the loud protests of the French merchants, these arrangements were maintained.

After the end of the war for American independence, the *arrêt* of August 30, 1784, struck still further blows at the commercial monopoly of the mother country. It threw open to foreign ships seven ports in the French West Indies, three of them in Santo Domingo,¹⁰ and, what was equally serious, authorized the importation into the Antilles of the salt provisions, codfish, and other salt fish of America. This decree, which seems a quite direct consequence of American independence, finished, so far as France is concerned, the break-up of the colonial system, of whose destruction the freeing of the American colonies was a still more striking sign.¹¹ The despair of French merchants may be easily understood, and their unanimous protests taken for granted, but these had no effect.

The *arrêt* of 1784 also threatened great damage to the French fishermen, especially those of St. Malo. It is true that the *arrêt* of September 18, 1785, in order to protect the national fisheries, placed a bounty of ten livres a quintal on dried codfish carried to the West Indies on French vessels, that this was increased in 1787 to twelve livres, and that a duty of eight livres a quintal was placed on the products of foreign fisheries brought into those islands. These amelioratory measures were in part defeated by contraband trade.¹²

With the same intention an *arrêt du conseil* of February 22, 1788, excepted fish and fish-oils from the privilege of deposit granted to American goods, doing this under pretext that it was of little use to the Americans and could help only those among them whose intention it was "to bring these goods fraudulently into the interior

¹⁰ On the above, see Moreau de St. Méry, *Loix et Constitutions des Colonies Françaises sous le Vent* (Paris, 1785); Ph. Barrey, "Le Havre et la Navigation aux Antilles sous l'Ancien Régime", in *Mémoires et Documents sur l'Histoire du Commerce et de l'Industrie*, ed. Julien Hayem, fifth ser. (1917); J. A. Brutails, *Introduction à l'Inventaire des Archives de la Chambre de Commerce de Marseille*; J. Letaconnoux, "Les Députés Extraordinaires des Manufactures et du Commerce", in *Annales Révolutionnaires* (1911). The text of the *arrêt* of 1784 is in Isambert, *Anciennes Lois Françaises*, XXVII. 459-464.

¹¹ See H. Sée, "Le Grand Commerce Maritime et le Système Colonial dans leurs Relations avec l'Évolution du Capitalisme", in *Revue de Synthèse Historique*, June, 1925.

¹² See, in the archives of Ille-et-Vilaine, papers of the admiralty of St. Malo, B 7; H. Sée and A. Lesort, *Cahiers de Doléances de la Sénéchaussée de Rennes*, III. 31 n. (1911), in the *Collection des Documents Économiques de la Révolution*.

of the kingdom". The real desire was to appease the disquiet of the French shippers.¹³

From all that precedes, it may be concluded that almost none of the wishes expressed in 1783 by the merchants of Nantes was gratified. They were less impressed by the new market open to them than by the loss of a monopoly which they thought indispensable to the prosperity of their commerce.

We have not been able to study the history of the commercial relations between France and the United States from 1783 to 1789, a history which would deserve extended researches. What we know of it is sufficient proof that French commerce was unable to struggle successfully against English competition. Almost all the manufactures which the young republic was importing came from England. In 1792 England brought into the United States merchandise to the value of 106,785,000 francs, and took out goods to the value of nearly 26,000,000. France, on the other hand, exported in 1789 goods of the value of 1,644,000 fr., in 1792 of 5,911,000, and received in 1789 to the amount of 13,000,000 and in 1792 of 22,668,000 livres. As was foreseen in 1783, it was especially silks, linens, gloves, ribbons, wines, and brandy that could be disposed of in America. On the other hand, the lines of advice that M. de Castries and the consul Marbois gave the merchants as to commercial practices seem to have been but little followed. The French importing houses were few, and most commonly it was the ship-captains that were charged with the sale of the cargoes and the purchase of those which were to return.¹⁴

The wars of the Revolution and of the Empire were also to ruin the commerce of the French ports with the West Indian colonies, to the great profit of English and American commerce, but the fear expressed in one of the memoirs was not to be realized till later: manufacturing industry in the United States was only beginning, and did not until a much later period develop to the point of seeking in Europe a market for its products.

HENRI SÉE.

¹³ The printed text of the *arrêt* is in the archives of Loire-Inférieure, C 752.

¹⁴ G. Vauthier, "Notes sur les Relations Commerciales entre la France et les États-Unis de 1789 à 1815", in *Mémoires et Documents*, ed. Hærem, third ser. (1913), pp. 91 et seq.; La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, *Voyages dans les États-Unis faits en 1795, 1796, et 1797*.

I. MARÉCHAL DE CASTRIES TO M. DE SOURDEVAL.¹⁵

[FONTAINEBLEAU, October 23, 1783.]

Il est bien essentiel, Monsieur, d'éclairer nos négociants sur la nature de leurs expéditions pour l'Amérique Septentrionale. Les dernières pour Philadelphie étaient si mal entendues qu'elles auraient été dirigées plus à propos aux Isles ou au Levant. Comme les assortiments en marchandises sèches des navires anglais sont faites avec la plus grande intelligence, nos armateurs ne peuvent trop se hâter d'étudier et de satisfaire les goûts des Américains. Les marchandises envoyées étaient assez belles et assez bonnes; mais celles d'hiver, arrivant en été, restent assez longtemps en magasin; et les droits de commission, les faux frais et les retards absorbent les bénéfices, qui ne sont pas aujourd'hui assez forts pour couvrir les pertes.

Je crois donc, monsieur, devoir confier à votre zèle le résultat des rapports des consuls de Sa Majesté. Vous voudrez bien en donner communication à la Chambre de commerce de Nantes,¹⁶ qui se chargera du soin de la transmettre utilement aux négociants de la place.

La plupart de nos manufactures sont maintenant reconnues en Amérique. Il y a quatre ou cinq mois qu'à bonté et qualités égales, nos marchandises étaient de 8 à 12% meilleur marché que celles des Anglais, et elles sont encore un peu moins chères. Les draps d'Angleterre avaient visiblement du désavantage sur les nôtres, auxquels on ne faisait de reproche fondé que celui de leur raccourcissement. Les Américains se désabusaient de l'ancienne opinion que nos gros draps étaient plus chers que ceux des Anglais, et ils voient déjà que nos superfins le sont un peu moins.

Nos draps de coton sont plus estimés que les leurs, ainsi que nos toiles peintes.

La modicité comparative du prix de nos soieries en assure la défaite. Le goût pour ces étoffes s'accroît, et les Anglais ne peuvent porter les leurs partout où les nôtres atteignent.

Les modes, les gazes, les blondes, les parfums, la ganterie et tout ce qui sert au luxe des femmes sera peu contrarié par la concurrence étrangère et constamment d'un débit avantageux. Nos batistes et nos toiles peintes se vendent à meilleur marché, mais nos toiles blanches, supérieures en qualité à celles d'Irlande, quoique d'un blanc moins éclatant, sont d'un prix trop supérieur aussi pour entrer en concurrence. Des sacrifices pourraient seuls accréditer cet article.

Notre faïence ne rivalisera celle d'Angleterre, à laquelle on est habitué, que quand nos manufactures la livreront au même prix que les Anglais. La leur est préférée par sa solidité et légèreté.

Leur quincaillerie l'est aussi; et la perfection de leurs ouvrages en fer et en cuivre, le bas prix de ceux d'Allemagne prescrivent la plus grande circonspection, et seulement sur des demandes, dans des envois de cette espèce.

Leur verrerie l'emportera aussi sur la nôtre, à moins que nous n'en imitions les formes, la qualité, aussi que leur *flintglass*. Le très bas prix

¹⁵ M. de Sourdeval was "commissioner of ports and arsenals" at Nantes.

¹⁶ There was no chamber of commerce at Nantes before 1789, but the interests of the merchants were represented by the judge and "consuls" of Nantes.

de celle d'Allemagne pourra bien enlever cette branche, même aux Anglais.

Les tapis et les glaces sont presque le seul ornement des appartements. Le goût dominant pour les glaces est la forme ovale, de 27 à 30 pouces de hauteur. Il faudrait imiter les bordures anglaises, dorées, peu chargées d'ouvrage, mais assez finies. Les plus grandes glaces carrées ne vont pas au-delà de 42 pouces. Les Anglais fournissent les tapis à trop bon compte, pour qu'il soit facile de lutter contre eux. Les plus grands n'excèdent pas 15 pieds sur 12.

Le succès de la bijouterie, des ouvrages d'or et d'argent, dépendra encore plus de l'opulence et du caprice que du goût national. Quelques faibles essais ont été assez heureux; il en sera de même des galons d'or et d'argent.

Quoique nos eaux-de-vie et nos vins n'aient pas encore partout le débit qu'ils acquerront, ils sont déjà fort recherchés; nos vins le sont surtout en été; et, dans quelques parties du continent, le peuple commence à en boire dans les cabarets, au lieu de punch et de bière.

Les eaux-de-vie ont donné et donneront des profits très considérables, quand nous aurons sur les lieux des facteurs qui les vendront à propos.

Les vins de Bordeaux de qualité moyenne en procureront d'aussi forts et même au-delà, lorsqu'on aura des magasins bien établis et bien conduits. Les vins fins seront moins recherchés jusqu'à ce que le luxe des tables ait fait de nouveaux progrès. Le bas prix de ceux du Languedoc et de Provence en assure le débouché dans le peuple et peut réduire à peu de chose les fournitures que faisait l'Angleterre des vins de Portugal et de Madère.

Telles sont les informations puisées dans les relations successives des consuls de S. M. Ils ajoutent qu'on se plaint que nos marchandises sont moins bien emballées et plus mal pliées que celles des Anglais. Cette négligence leur nuit, plus qu'on ne saurait imaginer, auprès des Américains, accoutumés au coup d'œil de fraîcheur du pliage et de l'emballage anglais. Que nos négociants se font un tort notable en exigeant indécemment le prix de leurs factures, et que c'est exciter la méfiance, sans avantage pour le prix de vente, qui est réglé sur les besoins et l'affluence des marchandises.

Qu'enfin, la célérité dans les opérations peut seule en assurer le bénéfice, et qu'on ne peut trop recommander la plus grande bonne foi dans le commerce, l'intelligence dans la composition des cargaisons, et l'envoi d'agents nationaux actifs, éclairés et fidèles.

Ils remarquent aussi que les maisons solides d'Angleterre rentrent dans ce commerce avec leur ancienne expérience; que la régularité de leur procédé leur donne tant d'avantages sur les Français que, si ceux-ci ne composent pas mieux leurs assortiments, des pertes réitérées les dégouteront d'un commerce peu utile quand il est fait sans précautions, mais dont les profits sont certains, lorsqu'il est suivi avec intelligence et mesure.

Il y a une autre considération puissante, et c'est le long crédit dont les Anglais ont dès longtemps l'usage, qu'ils ne manqueront pas de représenter aux Américains. C'est aux Français à se consulter et à juger s'ils peuvent tenter quelques épreuves de la même méthode. L'argent est et sera vraisemblablement encore longtemps fort rare en Amérique, et le propriétaire est souvent obligé de contractor plutôt avec l'Anglais, qui

lui fait crédit, qu'avec le Français, qui en peut moins accorder, mais qui livrerait à meilleur prix une marchandise égale.

Au reste, le Congrès avait proposé sur toutes les importations des droits uniformes, qu'il fixait à 5%. Tous les États y avaient consenti à l'exception d'un seul,¹⁷ dont l'obstination a fait échouer ce plan. Il est vraisemblable qu'on y reviendra, malgré l'incertitude et les discussions actuelles, et que les droits sur les marchandises d'Europe ne s'élèveront jamais fort haut. Ceux des États, qui n'en avaient établi aucuns, se mettront naturellement à l'uniformité avec les autres, à mesure que leur commerce fera des progrès. Des différences donneraient trop d'avantage où de désavantage aux États voisins et produiraient des versements frauduleux. En attendant l'établissement de ces 5% sur l'importation, projeté par le Congrès, les droits particuliers les plus forts de chaque province ne vont pas au-delà de 2%; ce qui ferait en tout 7. Les droits sur l'exportation se réduisent à quelques frais modiques de permission ou d'entretien de fanals et de rivières. On écrit de Charlestown que cet État a accordé de grandes faveurs à la France sur les droits, par comparaison avec le Portugal, l'Espagne et l'Angleterre.

Je vous dirai, monsieur, pour votre instruction personnelle que, depuis la paix, la Banque d'Amérique a acquis le plus grand crédit. Son fond est de 400,000 piastres, en 1000 actions de 400 piastres chacune; elles ont été remplies rapidement et 100,000 piastres sont arrivées trop tard d'Angleterre, pour en acheter 250. Elle prête à intérêt aux particuliers solides et au Congrès et reçoit l'argent en dépôt. Le dividende des six derniers mois a été de 6½%. Son papier est dans la plus haute estime, et l'on croit qu'elle deviendra l'un des établissements les plus accrédités du monde.

Vous ferez, monsieur, de toutes ces notions l'usage que la nature du commerce de Nantes et vos connaissances locales vous suggéreront. Il est bien important que nos négociants calculent leurs spéculations sur les besoins, les habitudes, les goûts et les productions de chacun des treize États Unis. Ils peuvent être divisés en trois classes; le Nord, le Centre et le Midi. La première produit principalement des bois, des bestiaux et des salaisons; la seconde, des grains; la troisième, des tabacs, du riz, de l'indigo, du bray.¹⁸ L'expérience et surtout des correspondances exactes indiqueront bientôt la mesure de la consommation, que comportera chacune des produits de notre industrie, et la balance des retours que les Américains peuvent nous fournir, soit en nature par les productions de leur sol, soit par les espèces et remises qu'ils devront à leur livraison aux nations qui ont des besoins différents des nôtres.

Les Français qui iront fonder des maisons de commerce en Amérique y seront accueillis et vus avec plaisir. Nos navires et leurs cargaisons ont été reçus partout avec le plus grand empressement, et l'on m'a marqué, au commencement de juillet, qu'un vaisseau avait introduit des marchandises jusque dans le New York, et qu'ayant remonté l'Hudson, de l'aveu des commandants anglais, il avait fait sur ses bords des ventes infiniment profitables.

¹⁷ Rhode Island. The reference is to the resolutions of Congress, Feb. 3, 1781, in favor of investing Congress with power to lay an impost. The fate of the resolutions of Apr. 18, 1783, was not yet known.

¹⁸ Sp. *brea*, a variety of tar.

II. MARÉCHAL DE CASTRIES TO M. DE SOURDEVAL.

VERSAILLES, 19 décembre 1783.

[Encloses, for the benefit of the merchants, the letter of M. de Marbois, consul general, which follows, no. III.]

. . . Il me marque que, malgré la quantité considérable de nos espèces d'argent qu' on expédiait d'Amérique, la sage administration de la banque et son utilité pour le commerce lui conservait la confiance entière du public.

L'État de Pensylvanie, par acte du 17 septembre, a supprimé différents droits établis, pendant la guerre, sur les vins, et qui étaient trop considérables pour subsister pendant la paix. Le bon marché des vins de France augmente tous les jours leur consommation.

Le même État de Pensylvanie a déterminé les droits sur toutes les marchandises étrangères, mais ils n'y seront perçus que quand les autres États y auront donné leur consentement, conformément aux principes que je vous ai cités dans ma lettre du 23 octobre.

III. MARBOIS TO MARÉCHAL DE CASTRIES.¹⁹

PHILADELPHIE, le 15 octobre 1783.

Les affaires du commerce, qui avaient languì pendant presque toute la guerre, ont pris un degré d'activité qui me met dans l'obligation de multiplier les comptes que je dois vous rendre.

Les détails dont il s'agit, quoique minutieux, sont essentiels, parce qu'ils tiennent à la marche que doit suivre le commerce français dans les États Unis, et il me paraît important que nos commerçants en soient informés pour qu'ils ne retombent pas à l'avenir dans les mêmes erreurs qui ont dû leur occasionner de grandes pertes pendant le cours de cette année.

Le crédit, Monseigneur, ainsi que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous l'annoncer souvent, est la base du commerce avec ces peuples. Sans crédit, on ne peut le faire; avec du crédit, il devient profitable. Ceux de nos marchands qui sont en état de suivre ce principe livrent leurs marchandises aux détaillants de la ville ou de la campagne à un crédit de deux à huit mois. Ceux-ci se libèrent par des paiements successifs et par petites sommes; il faut une assiduité et une attention particulière pour se tenir au courant de ces opérations multipliées; mais on en est amplement dédommagé par des ventes avantageuses. Il est à peine besoin de connaître ces détaillants pour leur confier des marchandises. Il suffit de connaître leur habitation et de savoir qu'ils ne sont adonnés au jeu ni à la table, pour qu'on puisse compter sur leur ponctualité dans les paiements. Comme il y a peu de luxe dans les campagnes, il y a point de cause de ruine ou de dérangement. Les affaires des particuliers détaillants s'améliorent, au contraire, de jour en jour, et ils sont en état d'augmenter leurs demandes. Ils en font de nouvelles à mesure qu'ils acquittent une dette, et de la sorte la chaîne du commerce est formée par des ventes, du crédit, des paiements, de nouvelles ventes également à crédit, et ainsi de suite.

Si, au lieu de suivre cette marche, nos commerçants confient le soin de leurs ventes à un capitaine ou à un subrécargue, qui souvent n'entendent

¹⁹ Copy.

point la langue du pays, ou même à un correspondant établi à Philadelphie, duquel ils exigent, ou des ventes précipitées, ou des retours par le même navire, ils sont presque sûrs de faire de mauvaises affaires. Un capitaine, à son arrivée, cherche à la hâte un magasin, qu'il ne trouve souvent que dans un mauvais emplacement; il y étale ses marchandises, il n'est pas connu, il ne connaît personne; la difficulté de comprendre, la méfiance pour un étranger, la nécessité de payer comptant éloignent les acheteurs, et le capitaine, trompé dans ses espérances, finit par vendre à perte ou quelquefois par remporter une partie de sa cargaison. Si les ventes se font précipitamment et sans crédit, il est presque impossible de les faire sans perte. Si elles se font plus lentement et que le navire reste, il consomme les armateurs en frais exorbitants. Les équipages, toujours salariés, sont dans l'inaction; leurs travaux suspendus occasionnent une perte, tant à leurs maîtres qu'à la nation. Le correspondant est obligé de former à la hâte une cargaison de retour, telle qu'il peut la trouver; il y met d'autant moins de soins qu'il s'aperçoit aisément que l'expédition sera à charge aux armateurs et qu'ils ne la renouvelleront point. Il n'est pas porté à leur faire d'avances, parce qu'il prévoit que des liaisons aussi peu profitables ne seront pas de durée. Le navire revient; les armateurs, à qui l'on présente des comptes de perte au lieu des bénéfices sur lesquels ils comptaient, se rebutent, prononcent que le commerce avec l'Amérique septentrionale est ruineux; et cette opinion mal fondée peut influencer sur ceux qui auraient été disposés à se livrer à ce commerce et à nuire aux liaisons naissantes entre les deux nations.

Il faut donc revenir à des correspondants résidents sur les lieux, en qui les marchands du royaume auront une juste confiance et qui seront surtout, s'il est possible, liés d'intérêts avec les maisons établies en France, qui auront recours à eux. J'insiste sur ces qualités, parce que j'ai vu plusieurs prétendus commerçants abuser de la confiance que leurs commettants leur avaient marquée. Mais un correspondant solide, honnête, intelligent, sachant les deux langues, ayant pouvoir de ses commettants d'agir à sa discrétion pour leur plus grand avantage, leur procurera à coup sûr des ventes avantageuses. Il ne sera pas obligé de vendre en hiver les marchandises qui doivent se vendre en été, et réciproquement; il pourra prévoir, il sera instruit d'avance des envois qui lui seront faits; il se préparera en conséquence, il pourra, sur la cargaison qui est entre ses mains, faire des avances pour former une cargaison de retour, et attendre pour faire ses ventes une circonstance favorable. La célérité des expéditions animera ce commerce; les capitaux ne languiront point. Le correspondant, instruit de ces circonstances qui n'ont pu être connues ni prévues en France, tantôt renverra directement dans le royaume le navire qui lui sera adressé, et tantôt le fera relâcher dans un autre port de ce continent et même quelquefois l'enverra à nos îles, chargé des productions des États Unis, qu'il échangera contre celles de nos colonies pour les transporter dans le royaume.

Je crois pouvoir vous assurer, Monseigneur, que toute marche différente de celle que j'indique finira par rebuter les commerçants français, qui au contraire trouveront des avantages permanents et capables de les satisfaire dans un commerce régulier avec ce continent.

IV. MARÉCHAL DE CASTRIES TO M. DE SOURDEVAL.²⁰

VERSAILLES, le 8 août 1784.

L'assemblée générale de la Caroline du Sud vient d'imposer un droit de 2%, en sus de ceux déjà établis, sur le valeur des marchandises importées par des personnes dites passagères. Quoique la loi n'ait pas formellement excepté les négociants étrangers résidents dans cet État, j'ai lieu de croire qu'ils le seront par le fait, en attendant que, sur un nouvel examen, elle les ait positivement affranchis de ce droit. Mais les capitaines, qui vendront eux-mêmes leurs marchandises sans consignation à des marchands établis dans le pays, seront soumis à l'imposition de 2% de plus. Vous voudrez bien, monsieur, communiquer cette notion à la Chambre de Nantes, en faisant sentir l'avantage d'adresser les chargements à des correspondants sur lesquels on puisse compter; elle démontre la nécessité d'avoir en Amérique des maisons nationales solides. Les Carolines et la Georgie leur présenteront d'autant plus de ressources que ces provinces n'ayant point encore de navigation, les nations étrangères pourront y porter plus facilement qu'ailleurs les marchandises qui leur conviennent et y recevoir leurs productions.

L'officier du Roi à Charlestown me marque qu'il croit que la Caroline du Sud finira d'exécuter l'intention bien décidée où elle est d'acquitter les dettes contractées envers les sujets du Roi.

V. THE REPRESENTATIVE MERCHANTS OF HAVRE TO CASTRIES AND JOLY DE FLEURY.²¹

Le 17 mars [1783].

Monseigneur,

Le retour de la paix, en ce moment où l'Amérique Septentrionale, reconnue libre et indépendante, va ouvrir les ports à toutes les nations de l'Europe, met le commerce de France dans un singulier embarras, d'où nous osons croire qu'il importe au gouvernement de le tirer pour le bien général.

Dans ce port, comme dans les autres, plusieurs négociants ne demandent pas mieux que d'essayer d'entrer dans la nouvelle carrière ouverte à leur industrie, mais ils ignorent également l'étendue et les limites du commerce qu'ils peuvent faire avec cette nouvelle puissance. Ils ne savent si cette navigation sera assujettie à de certaines restrictions, ou si elle jouira de quelques prérogatives ou privilèges, tendant à la soutenir dans son début et à la mettre en état de lutter contre la concurrence étrangère, comme semble l'exiger l'intérêt de la nation.

Permettez nous, Mgr., de vous exposer quelques uns des principaux points, sur lesquels il nous paraît urgent d'éclairer le commerce national et de lever les doutes qu'il peut avoir, afin qu'il ne se laisse pas devancer dans ce nouveau marché par les nations étrangères.

Le pavillon français sera-t-il admis dans les ports de nos colonies, venant d'un des ports des treize États Unis? S'il est admis, le sera-t-il dans tous les cas, avec comme sans chargement? Y aura-t-il seulement

²⁰ Copy.

²¹ "Lettre des négociants chargées des affaires générales du commerce du Havre, adressée le 17 mars à MM. le marquis de Castries et Joly de Fleury." Copy. Joly de Fleury was comptroller of finance from June, 1781, to March, 1783.

partie des productions des treize États Unis de permises à l'entrée de nos colonies par navires français? Y en aura-t-il de prohibées? Le négociant va opérer en aveugle et peut-être s'exposer à de cruelles pertes, si le gouvernement ne pose incessamment les règles de ce commerce.

Nous prenons la liberté de vous demander aussi, Mgr., si les exportations vers ce pays de productions et marchandises de notre crû et de nos fabriques par navires français ne seront pas exempts de tous droits de sortie. Sans cette faveur, en vain la France se flatterait-elle de prendre la moindre part au commerce et à l'approvisionnement de cette vaste contrée. Après avoir employé, comme elle a fait, toutes forces pour lui procurer l'indépendance, elle a certainement le droit et le désir d'y former des liaisons utiles de commerce; le pourra-t-elle, si elle n'est pas en état de fournir à ces nouveaux républicains tous les objets de luxe, de commodité ou de besoin qu'elle peut leur porter, à aussi bas prix que les autres nations commerçants de l'Europe? Ne serait-il pas fâcheux que des droits à la sortie sur nos étoffes de laine, de fil, de soie ou de coton nous missent dans l'impossibilité d'y soutenir la concurrence anglaise? Nous en dirons autant de nos meubles, de nos modes, de nos clinquaieries [quincailleries], des outils aratoires et autres de toute espèce. Si ces objets sont chargés de droits, les étrangers y en porteront et enlèveront à nos manufactures ce débouché, cette nouvelle issue dont elles auraient pu tirer grand parti.

Si le sel du royaume, que peuvent y porter nos navires, paie des droits, nous n'y en pourrions pas fournir. Ceux du Portugal et de l'Espagne auront toute préférence. La poudre à tirer est prohibée chez nous à la sortie; les étrangers y en porteront. Enfin, tout ce que des prohibitions, des gênes ou des droits quelconques ne nous permettront pas d'établir chez les Américains septentrionaux à aussi bonne composition que les Anglais, les Hollandais, les Danois, Hambourgeois et autres, sera un détriment pour nous, un avantage réel pour nos rivaux ou nos concurrents.

Il nous semble cependant qu'il est au pouvoir de notre gouvernement de tirer avantage, et pour sa navigation et son commerce, de l'importante révolution qu'il vient d'opérer. En favorisant nos transports de France vers les treize États Unis, et en réservant à la navigation française ceux des États Unis vers nos colonies, c'est à dire en n'admettant dans nos colonies les productions des États Unis que sur navires français, ce serait augmenter les ressources de notre navigation. En prononçant exemption des droits de sortie sur les marchandises du crû ou de fabrique française exportées par navires français vers les treize États Unis, ce serait assurer à notre culture, à nos manufactures un nouveau débouché, ce serait augmenter chez nous la masse du travail et donner au commerce une grande activité.

Nous pensons qu'il serait également convenable d'admettre en entrepôt dans nos ports les marchandises du crû des États Unis, qui seraient emportées dans le royaume par navires français, pour y jouir de deux années d'entrepôt, pendant lesquelles elles pourraient être remportées à l'étranger en exemption de droits, mais assujetties aux droits qu'il plairait au gouvernement de fixer, si elles entraient dans le royaume pour sa consommation. De cette manière, ce commerce, dès son principe, pourrait être exploité utilement pour la masse de la nation, et rapporter néanmoins quelques droits au Roi, sauf à le diriger autrement par la suite, peut-être même à le rendre beaucoup plus utile au fisc lorsque l'ex-

périence aura mis à portée de l'envisager sous toutes ses faces, soit relativement à notre propre organisation, soit relativement à la marche de nos concurrents. Dans le début, combien ne serait-il pas dangereux de ne jeter que des vues fiscales sur cette nouvelle branche de commerce ! Ce serait s'exposer à la faire passer entièrement dans des mains étrangères, dont il serait bien difficile, pour ne pas dire impossible, de les retirer jamais.

Nous espérons cependant, Mgr., que vous voudrez bien accueillir avec bonté ces observations, que nous prenons la liberté de vous adresser et de soumettre à vos lumières supérieures. Nous vous prions d'être persuadé qu'elle nous seront dictées par un vrai zèle pour le bien public, et nous attendrons avec respect et confiance ce qu'il vous plaira décider. Nous vous supplions, Mgr., de considérer que le commerce attend cette décision, sans laquelle il ne peut opérer, et que le retard, qui ne peut manquer de lui être très préjudiciable, nuira en même temps aux intérêts de l'État.

VI. MEMOIR ON COMMERCE WITH THE UNITED STATES.²²

Bien du monde se fait illusion sur les avantages que la France doit retirer du commerce avec les Américains. Ces peuples, accoutumés aux fabriques anglaises, les préféreront aux nôtres. Il faut en excepter cependant les soieries de Lyon, les linons, les batistes, quelques draps, quelques indiennes et autres objets que nous pouvons leur établir à meilleur marché et d'un meilleur goût qu'en Angleterre.

Toutes les puissances de l'Europe s'empressent aujourd'hui de faire des traités de commerce avec les 13 États Unis ; toutes y voient une source inépuisable de richesses, dans le débouché de leurs productions, et chacune d'elles cherche à se les attacher. Mais qu'en résultera-t-il ? L'Amérique a-t-elle des valeurs à échanger contre les productions de l'industrie européenne ? Ses législateurs ne tarderont pas à s'apercevoir que la balance ne serait pas à son avantage ; dès lors, ils s'occuperont du soin d'établir des fabriques chez eux. Les artisans s'y rendront de toutes parts, de l'Angleterre, de l'Allemagne, de la France. Bientôt, ces vastes contrées se passeront de l'Europe et se trouveront même en état de fournir aux parties méridionales.

Ce nouveau peuple, composé uniquement de commerçants et de cultivateurs, va tourner toutes ses vues vers l'établissement des fabriques. Ils tireront, comme nous le faisons, les laines d'Espagne. Les liaisons qu'ils ont avec nos colonies leur procureront les cotons, les indigos, les bois de teinture. Ils pourront même cultiver avec autant de succès le coton dans la Georgie et la Caroline, que l'indigo. Le chanvre, le lin croissent en abondance dans la province de la Nouvelle Angleterre et le Jersey. La traite des castors les mettra à même de fabriquer des chapeaux. A l'exception des vins, eau-de-vie, huile et sels, l'Amérique produit les mêmes denrées que l'Europe. Elle aura de plus l'avantage d'importer en Espagne, en Portugal et en Italie le produit de ses pêches, ses farines, ses blés, qui porteront le plus grand préjudice aux débouchés des nôtres, feront languir la navigation et l'agriculture de l'Europe entière.

La France sera la première à en sentir les effets, si elle n'empêche par toutes sortes de moyens l'entrée des farines et du poisson sec dans toutes ses colonies ; elle doit les proscrire en tout temps et n'en permettre l'im-

²² "Mémoire, anonyme, non daté, sur le commerce avec les États Unis."

portation sous aucun prétexte. Si elle se relâche, son agriculture, ses pêcheries, son commerce en souffriront considérablement. Qu'on laisse le soin à nos ports d'alimenter nos colonies; les disettes ne s'y feront jamais sentir; la base de nos cargaisons sera la farine; le poisson y sera porté de nos possessions de Saint-Pierre, de Miquelon et de la côte de Terre-Neuve. Sûrs de n'avoir point les Américains pour concurrents dans la vente de ses précieuses denrées, les envois seront considérables.

Tout le monde convient que les colonies ont été fondées pour contribuer à la subsistance des habitants de la métropole, par la consommation de ses denrées et de ses manufactures, qu'elles payent par un échange de denrées dont l'État ne peut se passer, et qui lui donnent le double avantage de fournir à une grande augmentation d'industrie et en même temps à une exportation très riche. Si on s'écarte de ce principe, et que l'on permette aux Américains d'apporter dans nos colonies, où même dans les ports du môle Saint Nicolas et de Sainte Lucie qui leur seront ouverts, des farines et du poisson, notre commerce est perdu sans ressource, notre agriculture, nos fabriques languiront, car tout se tient; une partie ne se trouve pas affectée que l'autre n'en ressente l'effet.

Puisque nous ne pouvons nous passer des Américains, dans nos colonies, pour les bois de charpente et les merreins, il faut que le gouvernement s'attache scrupuleusement à ce qu'ils n'importent rien autre chose, et qu'ils ne prennent en échange que les sirops, les tafias; qu'on tienne la main à ce qu'ils n'importent aucune autre denrée, telle que sucre, café, coton et indigo. L'État a le plus grand intérêt que ces denrées viennent directement dans nos ports, par les droits qui en résultent, tant à la sortie des colonies qu'à l'entrée dans le royaume, le commerce, par le fret qu'elles lui procurent, les commissions de vente et d'achat, le magasinage et autres frais qui font subsister tant de monde. Si on ne veille pas avec la plus grande attention aux importations des Américains dans nos colonies, qui doivent uniquement se borner aux seuls bois de charpente et de merreins, ils ne tarderaient pas à les infester des manufactures des autres puissances de l'Europe, avec lesquelles ils vont être en relation, et à les approvisionner ensuite des denrées que nous leur vendons. C'est sur quoi le commerce doit faire de vives représentations et engager le gouvernement à y mettre obstacle.

Quant aux avantages qu'on doit faire aux Américains dans nos ports, ils doivent consister dans un entrepôt qu'on doit leur accorder pour leurs productions; dans un droit très médiocre sur celles qui se consommeraient dans le royaume, telles que les grains, l'indigo, la pelleterie, les riz; leur défendre l'entrée de leurs poissons. Que toutes les marchandises de nos fabriques, destinées pour les 13 États Unis, jouissent du même privilège que celles destinées pour nos colonies; que nos vins, nos eaux-de-vie payassent moins de droits à la sortie afin de les engager à nous donner la préférence sur celles d'Espagne et de Portugal. Il faut enfin que le gouvernement leur présente de plus grands avantages, ou au moins les mêmes dont pourront être les autres nations de l'Europe, proscrivant seulement l'entrée des denrées qui seraient de même nature que celles cultivées dans nos colonies, telles que le sucre, le café et le poisson.

VII. OBSERVATIONS ON COMMERCE BETWEEN FRANCE AND THE UNITED STATES.²³

Leurs principales productions sont: le tabac, le riz, l'indigo, les grains et farines.

Il serait question de procurer à ces différentes denrées un débit aussi avantageux en France qu'ils pourront le trouver chez d'autres nations de l'Europe, parce qu'il s'ensuivrait nécessairement un échange de nos productions et de nos fabriques. Mais la chose paraît difficile, et l'on craint que la France retirera bien moins d'avantage de ce nouveau commerce que d'autres nations voisines. Voici les raisons qui déterminent cette crainte.

De toutes les productions ci-dessus, le tabac est la seule dont la France se soit mis dans le cas de ne pas pouvoir se passer; mais cet article ne circulera pas dans notre commerce, par rapport au privilège exclusif de la ferme générale. Elle fera, suivant toute apparence, des traités particuliers avec les Américains qui s'engagent à transporter sur leurs propres vaisseaux dans les ports de fabrique, tout ce qu'ils auront besoin, au moyen de quoi nul avantage pour notre navigation. On permettra peut-être bien l'introduction particulière dans nos autres ports; mais ce sera en l'entreposant sous la clef du fermier, comme marchandise prohibée, et s'assujettissant de le faire passer dans l'étranger, à moins de se soumettre au prix arbitraire que les fermiers voudraient y mettre. Cela étant ainsi, on doute qu'il en soit jamais expédié pour la France. Les Américains trouveront bien mieux leur compte à le porter directement dans les lieux où ce commerce se fait avec une entière liberté; ils vendront à des prix plus avantageux, et cela leur donnera nécessairement occasion de se pourvoir de toutes les choses qu'ils sont dans l'usage de charger en retour, parce qu'attentifs aux avantages qui pourront résulter de ces échanges, on aura soin d'y entretenir des magasins de tous les articles qu'ils pourront avoir besoin. Il y a toute apparence que les Hollandais en retireront les principaux fruits; leurs vaisseaux iront trafiquer à l'Amérique comme les nôtres, mais ils auront la faculté de disposer à leur gré du tabac, qu'ils chargeront en retour, au lieu que nous serons assujettis de le livrer aux fermiers généraux aux prix qu'ils fixeront. Si ce prix est inférieur à celui qu'on en retirerait en Hollande, on ne pourra pas soutenir la concurrence, d'autant moins que les frais de notre navigation sont toujours infiniment plus considérables que les leurs; c'est au gouvernement à chercher les moyens d'empêcher que ce commerce de tabac, qui se trouvera nécessairement lié avec celui des fabriques, ne soit perdu pour la France.

Le riz est encore une de leurs grandes productions. La consommation qui s'en fait en France n'est rien en comparaison de celle de la Hollande et de tout le Nord. Il ne faut pas s'attendre qu'ayant la facilité de le transporter directement, on vienne le déposer dans nos ports pour l'expédier ensuite pour le pays étranger, en payant un double fret et de nouveaux frais; il faut donc compter que nous ne ferons ce commerce qu'en petit et en raison de notre consommation.

Les indigos de la Caroline suivront la marche du riz; ces deux productions vont toujours ensemble, et nous n'en recevrons vraisemblablement que pour affaiblir la réputation de celui de Saint Domingue par un mélange punissable, qui n'a déjà fait que trop de progrès.

²³ "Observations sur le commerce qui s'ouvre entre la France et les États Unis d'Amérique." Anonymous; not dated.

Voilà les trois principales productions des États Unis. Celle des grains et des farines est encore considérable. Ils en entretenaient autre fois les autres possessions anglaises de l'Amérique; ils pourront en pourvoir également nos îles du Vent et dessous le Vent. Mais si cela devient avantageux pour nos colonies, ne s'ensuivrait-il pas une ruine totale de notre commerce?

D'après ce tableau, on ne voit pas quels sont les avantages que nous pourrions retirer de nos nouvelles liaisons en faveur de notre commerce. Le seul qu'on puisse se promettre est la consommation du produit de nos manufactures; mais nous serons en concurrence avec toutes les nations. Les lieux où se consommeront leurs denrées seront ceux qu'ils choisiront pour se procurer ce qu'ils auront besoin. Nous pourrions leur fournir avec quelque avantage les objets de luxe ou de mode, quelques espèces de toile, des vins et des eaux-de-vie. Nous serons en concurrence avec les États voisins pour la draperie et la mercerie, mais non pas pour les quincailleries, qu'ils tireront avec bien plus d'avantage d'Angleterre et d'Allemagne. Les Hollandais, en bons politiques, déchargeront de toutes espèces de droits toutes les marchandises qui pourront leur convenir, dont ils feront des dépôts libres. On ne peut pas parvenir d'en former en France de conditionnels au moyen de l'entrepôt, puisqu'on n'a pas voulu en permettre encore le bénéfice pour ce pays-là, et, si nous ne pouvons les recevoir qu'en payant les droits, nous ne sommes pas en état de les établir au même prix que les autres nations.

L'Amérique Septentrionale fournit encore du bray, du goudron, de la térébenthine, des planches et de la mâture, qui peuvent servir à notre marine royale et marchande. Elle produit encore beaucoup de potasse, qui peut être employée utilement pour les blanchisseries, pour raffiner les sucres dans nos colonies, et même pour la fabrication des poudres; tous ces différents articles trouveront en France un débit plus avantageux que partout ailleurs, parce que nous sommes moins à portée que les Hollandais et les Anglais de les tirer de la mer Baltique.

L'article de la pêche méritera la plus grande attention du gouvernement. Si, au retour de la paix, on ne prohibe pas entièrement l'introduction dans tout le royaume de tout poisson de pêche étrangère, on doit au moins le charger de droits assez considérables, pour qu'on ne soit pas tenté d'en introduire, et décharger au contraire la nôtre de tous droits d'entrée. Ce serait le moyen d'encourager cette branche si intéressante pour l'augmentation de notre marine. Peut-être même serait-il avantageux à l'État d'accorder des primes pour exciter davantage cette navigation et n'en pas borner l'étendue aux seuls besoins du royaume. Nous devrions être en état, à l'imitation des Anglais, d'aller vendre notre poisson en Espagne, en Portugal et dans les ports de l'Italie.

VIII. MEMOIR FOR THE MINISTERS.²⁴

Les trois dernières guerres ont été entreprises en faveur du commerce et pour empêcher que l'Angleterre ne s'en emparât exclusivement. Celle qui vient de finir glorieusement pour Sa Majesté et pour les ministres qui l'ont si sagement conduite ne procurerait pas les avantages qu'ils ont pu s'en promettre, si la France n'avait sur les autres puissances de

²⁴ "Mémoire pour le comte de Vergennes, le marquis de Castries, et le Contrôleur général des finances." Anonymous; not dated.

l'Europe une préférence décidée pour le commerce avec les États-Unis de l'Amérique Septentrionale.

Qu'il nous soit permis de vous exposer sur cet important objet, Monseigneur, que par le traité conclu avec eux, le 6 février 1778, il est dit, aux articles 3 et 4, que les sujets du Roi jouiront *de tous les droits, libertés, privilèges, immunités et exemptions dont lesdites nations les plus favorisées jouissent ou jouiront*, et que les sujets de cette nouvelle puissance auront les mêmes avantages dans les ports de la domination de S. M.;—article 30, *qu'il leur sera accordé un ou plusieurs ports francs, dans lesquels ils pourront amener ou débiter toutes les denrées et marchandises provenant des treize États-Unis, et qu'on leur conservera les ports francs qui sont ouverts dans les Iles françaises de l'Amérique*.

Ces prérogatives, quelque grandes qu'elles soient, ne paraissent pas encore suffisantes pour attirer dans le Royaume la majeure partie des productions de l'Amérique Septentrionale, et pour l'exportation de celles que nous pourrions lui fournir en échange.

En effet, si les droits ne sont très modiques, ou plutôt s'il n'est accordé, de part et d'autre, des exemptions salutaires, cette nouvelle branche de commerce se soutiendra d'autant moins que la Hollande, le Danemark, la Suède, la Russie et la vieille Angleterre travaillent pour se l'assurer respectivement.

Nous penserions sous votre bon plaisir, Mgr., qu'il conviendrait :

1°. d'admettre dans tous nos ports indistinctement toutes les denrées et marchandises des États-Unis, avec faculté de les exporter à l'étranger en exemption de tous droits quelconques, soit qu'ils appartiennent à la ferme générale, à des villes ou engagistes particuliers. Quant à la consommation de ces objets en France, il n'y aurait que les tabacs d'exceptés, à cause du privilège exclusif de l'adjudicataire, mais ils pourraient être expédiés par mer et par terre à l'étranger, muni d'acquits à caution et de transit, que l'on rapporterait dûment déchargés. Les autres articles ne paieraient que des droits proportionnels à ceux que nous paierions sur nos marchandises et denrées introduites dans les États-Unis pour leur consommation, afin que la réciprocité fût égale de part et d'autre.

2°. Toutes nos denrées et marchandises destinées pour l'Amérique Septentrionale se rendraient de l'intérieur du Royaume dans nos ports, avec acquits à caution, comme il en est usé pour nos colonies, suivant les lettres patentes d'avril 1717. L'entrepôt serait d'un an et les acquits seraient rapportés déchargés par les magistrats des lieux, ou par les consuls de France, s'il y en avait d'établis. Il est à remarquer sur ce chef que, pour peu que l'on taxe les denrées américaines, elles seront portées ailleurs, et que si l'on impose le moindre droit sur nos marchandises, particulièrement sur nos draps, nos toiles, nos chapeaux, nos vins, eaux-de-vie, etc., les sujets des États-Unis en tireraient d'Angleterre, de Silésie, de Portugal et d'Espagne. Ainsi, la France aurait fait des sacrifices qui ne tourneraient qu'à l'avantage de ces puissances.

3°. Les navires français, qui seraient expédiés pour l'Amérique Septentrionale, s'y rendraient directement, sans pouvoir faire escale dans aucune de nos îles, à moins d'y être forcés par tempêtes ou voies d'eau, ce qui serait juridiquement constaté; et pendant que l'on réparerait les dommages, il serait pris les plus grandes précautions pour empêcher qu'il ne fût chargé à bord des bâtiments des denrées coloniales pour les introduire dans les ports des États-Unis ce qui serait très préjudiciable au commerce et à la navigation française.

4°. Ces navires, à leur arrivée dans nos colonies, venant de l'Amérique Septentrionale, ne pourront aborder qu'au carénage de Sainte-Lucie et au môle de Saint-Nicolas, où il ne leur serait permis de débarquer que les mêmes objets portés en l'arrêt du 29 juillet 1767, mentionnés ci-après, et avec défenses expresses d'y introduire des comestibles, tels que des farines, beurres, chairs salées, poisson sec ou salé, etc. ni des marchandises de la Vieille Angleterre que l'on aurait pu rassembler dans les ports des États-Unis, pour les porter en fraude dans nos îles. Après la décharge et la visite dûment faites ces bâtiments français pourraient quitter le carénage et la môle, pour se rendre ensuite dans les divers quartiers de ces îles, y prendre des denrées à fret et les apporter dans le Royaume.

5°. Il sera défendu aux navires américains d'aborder ailleurs qu'à ces deux entrepôts ou ports francs et d'y introduire autre chose que des *bois de toute espèce, même de teinture; des animaux et bestiaux vivants de toute nature; des cuirs verts, en poil ou tannés; des résines ou goudrons*, suivant l'article 2 de l'arrêt du Conseil du 29 juillet 1767, dont il est parlé ci-dessus. Ils ne pourraient être employés à faire le cabotage d'un quartier à un autre ni prendre en échange que des *sirops, des taffias, ou des marchandises d'Europe*, comme il est porté en l'article 3. On ne peut se dispenser d'observer ici que par une politique mal entendue, l'on n'a permis d'apporter en France des taffias que pour s'en servir à la traite des noirs, et qu'on n'en peut porter à l'étranger. Le motif de cette prohibition a été la crainte de nuire à nos eaux-de-vie; mais les Américains, maîtres presque absolus du commerce des taffias, les porteront dans le Nord, ce qui nuira infiniment plus à nos eaux-de-vie que si nous les y portions nous mêmes. Il est donc nécessaire de permettre l'entrepôt des taffias en France, pour toute sorte de destination. Rien ne serait plus propre à établir un commerce direct avec le Nord, si désiré par le gouvernement, et à augmenter considérablement notre navigation.²⁵

6°. Les bâtiments américains ne pourraient être expédiés de nos colonies pour France avec des denrées de ces établissements.

7°. Si les navires de cette nation venaient dans nos ports avec des *sucres et cafés*, ils n'y seraient admis qu'en payant, à toutes les entrées du royaume, les droits portés aux tarifs de 1664 et autres réglemens depuis intervenus, comme provenant de l'étranger. Il est indispensable de maintenir ces droits, qui sont presque prohibitifs, et d'empêcher les receveurs des fermes de faire des diminutions secrètes pour cette introduction frauduleuse.

8°. Il est d'une conséquence infinie de laisser subsister les droits sur les morues verte et sèche, et sur le poisson salé, provenant de pêche étrangère. Si on les diminuait en faveur des Américains, il ne serait peut-être pas armé un seul bâtiment dans nos ports pour Terre Neuve, et le traité de paix deviendrait illusoire à cet égard.²⁶ Il conviendrait

²⁵ In the eighteenth century, despite all the efforts made to establish direct trade, commerce of France with the northern countries of Europe was still carried on almost entirely by foreign middlemen, especially the Dutch. See my study of *Le Commerce de la France avec les Pays du Nord au XVIII^e Siècle*.

²⁶ The *arrêt du conseil* of Aug. 30, 1784 (Isambert, *Anciennes Lois Françaises*, XXVII. 459-464) was to authorize the importation into certain ports of the French West Indies of (among other commodities) salt provisions, codfish, and other salt fish, from foreign countries; a duty of three livres a quintal was however placed (arts. 3 and 5) on these three articles. To offset this decree,

donc, au contraire, d'affranchir entièrement de tous droits les morues vertes et sèches et le poisson salé de pêches françaises de tous droits d'entrée et de sortie pour l'étranger, et de réduire considérablement ceux de consommation, n'importe à qui ils appartiennent: c'est l'unique moyen d'encourager les pêches, de les étendre, d'entrer en concurrence avec les autres nations, d'en approvisionner aussi le Portugal, l'Espagne et toute l'Italie.

Telles sont, en général, les réflexions que nous nous sommes permis de faire sur des objets qui intéressent essentiellement l'État, le commerce, la navigation et le bonheur des peuples. Nous les soumettons à vos lumières, à votre sagesse, Mgr., et nous sommes persuadés qu'avec ces encouragements et ces restrictions, le commerce réciproque entre la France et l'Amérique Septentrionale deviendrait bientôt une branche très considérable, qui augmenterait les richesses du royaume, procurerait de nouveaux débouchés à nos denrées, aux ouvrages de nos manufactures; et nous obtiendrions la préférence, du moins la concurrence, sur tous les objets que produisent les États-Unis.

Enfin, nous réclamons la puissante protection et l'autorité de Votre Grandeur pour empêcher que la finance,²⁷ toujours inquiète et soupçonneuse, ne fasse mettre à ce commerce des gênes et des entraves qui le feraient certainement fuir ailleurs.

IX. NOTES ON COMMODITIES.²⁸

Toiles de toute espèce, surtout les Laval non battues et les Bretagnes. L'Allemagne peut exporter les grosses toiles à meilleur marché.

Soieries et velours en soie de toute espèce.

Marchandises de l'Inde et de Chine.

Bas de soie, soie à coudre.

Gants, fil, dentelles de fil et de soie.

Mouchoirs de toile et de soie.

Papier à écrire.

Peignes d'ivoire de corne.

Chapeaux, boutons.

Indiennes.

Toute espèce de modes.

Batistes.

Clares idem.

Jarrettières, tabatières, bijouterie.

Galon d'or et d'argent. Sucre raffiné en pain. Poudre à feu. Pierres à fusil. Épicerie. Médicaments. Vin, eau-de-vie, sel, huile. Cordages, toile à voile. Verroterie. Glaces. Éventails. Broderie, velours de coton. Bouchons.

another *arrêt*, of Sept. 18, 1785, established a bounty of ten livres a quintal on dried codfish of French origin carried to the West Indies; an *arrêt* of Feb. 11, 1787, raised this bounty to twelve livres, and fixed the duty on foreign codfish carried thither at eight livres a quintal.

²⁷ I.e., the farmers general.

²⁸ "Note des articles propres pour l'Amérique Septentrionale et que la France pourra fournir à aussi bas prix que l'Angleterre."

[Produits à tirer des États Unis]

Les Américains nous ont fourni deux espèces de potasse: l'une blanche, qu'ils nomment *Pearl-ashe*; l'autre, d'un gris rougeâtre, en pierres dures, nommée *Pot-ashe*.

La première est un alkali fixe, végétal, très pur. Ce sel dissous à la plus grande dose possible dans l'eau pure, ne change presque rien à sa couleur et ne laisse, après sa dissolution, que la plus petite quantité de terre. C'est la meilleure des potasses connues, infiniment supérieure à celle de Dantzig, qui contient beaucoup de terre et de sel-duobus.²⁹ Elle est très utile dans le blanchissage des toiles les plus fines, dont elle n'attaque point l'intégrité; les manufactures d'indienne en font usage et la préfèrent à toutes les autres; elle sert aussi dans la teinture et à faciliter la perfection du sucre; elle entre dans la composition du cristal.

La rougeâtre est une espèce de pierre à cautère; elle est employée dans les premières lessives des toiles, pour en dissoudre le principe le plus colorant; elle est trop caustique pour les dernières.

La blanche s'est vendue, pendant la guerre, de 40 à 50 livres le cent; ³⁰ la rougeâtre de 25 à 35 l.

L'on perçoit sur cette drogue, à la traite domaniale,³¹ le droit excessif du 30^{ème}, ce qui souvent a mis Nantes hors de concurrence avec Rouen et Orléans.

L'Amérique Septentrionale fournit deux espèces de cire: l'une verte, production d'un arbrisseau nommé *myrica*; l'autre jaune, cire ordinaire des abeilles, qui se blanchit très facilement et dont l'odeur suave approche de celle du baume du Pérou ou de la vanille; elle a été vendue de 38 à 40 sous la livre. La verte a été employée ici pour l'usage des Américains, de manière que son prix n'a pas été connu; elle n'a point de ténacité, elle est au contraire pulvérulente.

Les autres drogues que l'on peut tirer des États-Unis se réduisent à peu d'articles de mince valeur, comme sassafras, serpentaire de Virginie,³² seneka, poligala virginiana. Un de leurs bâtiments a apporté un parti ³³ de farine de sagou, qu'on m'a assuré avoir été fabriquée en Georgie.

Les Américains, à qui j'ai vendu des toiles royales, m'ont dit qu'ils auraient pu avoir en Irlande, avant la guerre, celles de bas prix à meilleur compte, mais qu'ils trouvaient nos fines, au-dessus de 50 sous, de niveau avec les irlandaises. Il est à remarquer que leurs prodigieux achats à bas prix les avaient fait augmenter de 25 à 30 pour cent.

²⁹ Potassium sulphate.

³⁰ Hundredweight.

³¹ Duty collected at Nantes.

³² Snake-root, a species of aristolochia; senega is a preparation from a species of polygala.

³³ Stock.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

Archers d'Autrefois: Archers d'Aujourd'hui. Par HENRI STEIN.
(Paris: D. A. Longuet. 1925. Pp. 305. 120 fr.)

THE aim of this attractively printed and beautifully illustrated work is, as the author states, to give an account at once comprehensive, accurate, and adapted for general reading, of archery and archers from the earliest times up to the present. How comprehensive this study is may be seen from a brief summary of its contents. Chapter I. discusses the bow in mythology, as reflecting the importance of archery in the life of primitive peoples. Greek, Hindu, and Germanic mythology furnish the examples. Chapter II. traces the use of the bow among prehistoric peoples and those of historic antiquity, from neolithic to Byzantine times. Here one would like to see a reference to Herodotus's statement (I. 136) of the ideal of the Persian nobles: "to ride, to shoot, and to speak the truth". On page 40 the enumeration of the Athenian archers, based on Thucydides (II. 13), should be more explicit. The 1200 Athenian cavalry included 200 mounted archers, and the 1600 foot-archers included 1200 Scythians. Mention of the number of triremes is superfluous without some information regarding the number of bowmen serving on each (among the ten marines?). In fact, this whole topic of the number of archers in Athens at the opening of the Peloponnesian War should follow, and not precede, the opening paragraph on page 41 which mentions changes introduced after the Persian Wars. On page 42, the phrase "à la fin du III^e siècle ou au début du IV^e" should read "ou au début du II^e", since the dates are B.C. The note on this point should cite the inscriptional evidence for the institution of the contests in archery mentioned in the text.

The third chapter treats in considerable detail the use of the bow in the Middle Ages, particularly among the Normans, the French, and English, with a good discussion of the influence of the success of the English archers upon the development of this arm of the service in the armies on the Continent. Chapter IV. deals with the "free" archers, tracing their organization (1448) in France from the communal fraternities under royal ordinance, their exemptions from the salt tax and other obligations, which gave them their name of "free", and their history until their dissolution (1535). Chapter V. considers the bow as a weapon of the chase, while chapter VI. contains a very interesting account of the rise of the brotherhoods or guilds of archers in the towns of France and Flanders and of their organization and fortunes until their suppression in France in 1790. Chapter VII. describes the various com-

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petitions of skill among archers of ancient, medieval, and modern times. It will surprise many to read of the numerous associations of archers which flourish in France to-day, of which a great number are revivals of organizations which were in existence prior to 1790, and which to a certain extent perpetuate the traditions and ideals of these older fraternities.

In chapter VIII. we have a disquisition upon the bow among the savage peoples all over the world, in Asia, Indonesia, Africa, and America, with a description of the types of bows, arrows, and poisons for arrows in use in the various regions. The concluding chapter (IX.) has to do with the archer as represented in art among peoples of all ages. The frequency with which the martyrdom of St. Sebastian occurs in medieval art is due to his being the patron saint of archers. In the appendixes the author has reprinted a selection of interesting and not easily accessible documents dealing with archery in France from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century. Perhaps the most interesting among these is the treatise entitled *L'Art d'Archerie*, written about 1510. There are numerous notes on each chapter which reveal the author's wide acquaintance with the literature of his subject. Naturally, M. Stein has placed most emphasis upon conditions prevailing in France, but, in spite of that, his work is a very useful contribution to general *Kulturgeschichte*.

The Mummy, a Handbook of Egyptian Funerary Archaeology. By Sir E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, Kt., D.Litt., F.S.A. Second Edition. (Cambridge: University Press. 1925. Pp. xiv, 513. 45 s.)

THIS second edition of Sir Wallis Budge's important book is so well written and so admirably subdivided into chapters of non-technical description that it can be read with ease. The interest which naturally pertains to the subject is whetted by the charming method of its presentation. Whether one approach the volume as a student of Egyptian life and custom, as a Biblical scholar, or as a layman to whose mind there is a strong appeal by the romance of this nursery of civilization of which the walls are scribbled all over with the thoughts and aspirations of the past, the book proves fascinating reading. It is impossible, for example, to grasp the significance of Ezekiel xxix without some knowledge of Egyptian funerary ceremonies of which the passage is redolent. What appeals most to the reviewer is the sturdy determination of the author to avoid being drawn into a maelstrom of imagination and working hypotheses to which the study of ancient Egyptian life so readily lends itself. One feels confidence everywhere in the definiteness of the text, so straightforward and yet so devoid of any suspicion of dogmatism. Indeed one might be rather disappointed in the author's determination to avoid subjects which lend themselves to imaginative treatment. I find no treatment of subjects like the Ka standard and but scattered scanty reference to the permanence and diffusion of customs. But this makes the positive statements of the author all the more impressive.

The outline of Egyptian history is an excellent background for study of the later parts of the book and there is a clear presentation of the story of decipherment of hieroglyphs. The chapters on the mummy itself, on the Egyptian gods, and on the tomb will probably be the most widely interesting; they are full of accurate information bringing into focus the most recent work on these subjects.

For American readers the references to negro admixture can not fail to be of intense interest and indeed one would have liked these amplified. It has been customary to assume little or no intercourse with the negro and negligible admixture until the time of the New Kingdom. But from this book we see that the date of commencing negro admixture must be pushed much further back. The ultimate elimination of negro as of other alien blood becomes the more surprising, and very significant for our study of the American negro. What has happened once is an indication of what may well happen again. We have had a mere three hundred years of negroid admixture in America. Is it not possible that when a thousand years have been completed the strain of negro blood on this continent may be as thin as it became in later Egypt?

The use of Fabre's work on *Scarabaeus sacer* is an excellent example of the way in which collateral research may be applied to the elucidation of a problem. It is unfortunate that Sir Wallis Budge's confidence in anatomical evidence regarding the mummy is so badly shaken. Perhaps that is natural since it is only within recent years that anatomy has been studied quantitatively. When anatomical evidence has been given its due weight many purely archaeological and historical assumptions must be profoundly modified. To take as a single example the mummy of the young man vouched for as Akhenaton: recent anatomical work shows without shadow of doubt that this is the body of a man twenty-two years old; there is no evidence at all in Elliot Smith's description in *The Royal Mummies* for his recent invocation of *Dystocia adiposo-genitalis*. I regard this purely as an attempt to force agreement between the requirements of the archaeologists and the unequivocal information provided by the skeleton. When at last archaeologists are willing to apply skeletal age-determination as has been done for the Pecos material and the Scarborough skeletons, we shall know to within a year or two the age of every one of the important mummies now extant. And this is of such far-reaching importance that it should not be unduly delayed.

T. WINGATE TODD.

The Cambridge Ancient History. Edited by J. B. BURY, F.B.A., S. A. COOK, Litt.D., F. E. ADCOCK. Volume III. *The Assyrian Empire*. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1925. Pp. xxv, 821, iv. 35 s.)

THE third volume of this most important undertaking is in every respect worthy of its predecessors, and in several respects marks a dis-

tinct advance. Yet were the difficulties in its plan and presentation far greater than in the former volumes. They were largely occupied with the brooks and smaller streams of life and letters which flowed through vast areas, and, though imperfectly known, were by their very shallowness more or less readily comprehensible. In this volume we are swept out upon a mighty river and with far greater materials are troubled by the amount rather than the paucity of knowledge. The editors have had an immensely difficult task in the assignment of parts in this vast complex. It is quite obvious that they have given up the struggle in an attempt to set limits to the downward stream of dates. The volume hinges well with volume II., but it presents a very ill-assorted chronological relationship to the forthcoming fourth volume. Thus for example Hall and Thompson carry their story into the Seleucid age, while Cook ends with the Second Isaiah and the Servant passages. The figure of Cyrus appears several times here and there, but the reader will have to learn of Persia in volume IV. There he will read doubtless of Anshan and Media and Persia and then be asked to turn back to volume III. for the taking of Babylon and the conquest of Lydia. One may also justly raise a question of scale about the allotment of space here and there. Is there not much disproportion in the treatment of the early Greek states? One is however almost ashamed to mention matters so slight in the description of an effort so great, a result so rich and so useful. It will require much space here but it will be a service to all future readers to give the chapter-headings, for only so shall the reader of this review learn what the volume offers to him: chapter I., the Foundation of the Assyrian Empire; II., the Supremacy of Assyria; III., Sennacherib and Esarhaddon; IV., the Age of Ashurbanipal; V., Ashurbanipal and the Fall of Assyria. All these five chapters are by Sidney Smith, of the British Museum. Chapter VI. is the Hittites of Syria, VII., Hittite Civilization, both by D. G. Hogarth, keeper of the Ashmolean, Oxford. Chapter VIII. is the Kingdom of Van (Urartu), by Professor A. H. Sayce; IX., the Scythians and Northern Nomads, by E. H. Minns, Pembroke College, Cambridge; X., the New Babylonian Empire, by Dr. R. Campbell Thompson, Merton College, Oxford, and XI., the Influence of Babylonia, by the same; XII., the Eclipse of Egypt; XIII., the Ethiopians and Assyrians in Egypt; XIV., the Restoration of Egypt; XV., Oriental Art of the Saïte Period, all these by Dr. H. R. Hall of the British Museum; XVI., the Topography of Jerusalem, by R. A. Stewart Macalister of University College, Dublin; XVII., Israel and the Neighbouring States; XVIII., the Fall and Rise of Judah; XIX., Israel before the Prophets; XX., the Prophets of Israel, all these by Dr. Stanley A. Cook of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge; XXI., Lydia and Ionia, by D. G. Hogarth; XXII., the Growth of the Dorian States, by H. T. Wade-Gery of Wadham College, Oxford; XXIII., Early Athens, by Professor E. A. Gardner and Dr. M. Cary of the University of London; XXIV., Northern and Central Greece, by Dr. Cary; XXV., the Colonial Expansion of

Greece, by Professor John L. Myres of Oxford; XXVI., the Growth of the Greek City State, by Professor F. E. Adcock of Cambridge. Following upon these are the bibliographies, chronological tables, and an excellent series of indexes.

If now we turn from this list, so comprehensive and extensive, to attempt some characterization of the workers and their work we shall find the result worthy of the attempt. The account of the Assyrian empire by Sidney Smith is admirable alike in research and in style. It is lucidly written, free from any sign of cheap or hasty presentation, and not seldom rises to literature. There is no attempt at originality for its own sake, but there are many new combinations and fresh suggestions. Sargon II. comes out well after a searching analysis of his deeds and of his political sagacity, and Sennacherib, though less than Olmstead has made him, is a greater figure than most of the rest of us have thought him to be. I am indeed not quite satisfied with the discussion of his campaign against Jerusalem, but can find no other fault. Sidney Smith is now in the same relative position in respect of contact with original materials as was long and brilliantly held by King, and he has made sound use of his opportunity. Hogarth rises as a matter of course to his opportunity and what he has offered is the last word yet obtainable concerning the complicated Hittite problem. Happy indeed is the opportunity here afforded to read of the kingdom of Van (Urtu) by the one man best qualified above all others to write about it. Seldom does a man who has almost alone recreated a lost people survive to deal with the whole subject in a popular way. It was Sayce who first deciphered the Vannic inscriptions, made their grammar, and laid down the first sketch of the history of their kings. No one is so competent as he now to write of them, and none could be found so skillful in making the remote people and their long-lost story both interesting and attractive in liveliness and color. The vexed question of the topography of Jerusalem is handled by Macalister, easily the best living man to write upon it, qualified by personal autopsy of the ground and all its excavations.

Now come we to Dr. Stanley Cook and his work upon Israel and Judah. When one has said that the scholarship here displayed is of a quality fully equal to that of any other contributor one has indeed said much. Yet there will still remain a proper question of the soundness of judgment to match the learning. There ought no longer be any question of doubt about both propriety and necessity in the use of the utmost resources of modern literary and historical criticism in the effort to learn the development of the history of the Hebrews. But one may be pardoned for raising some question about the judgment of Dr. Cook here and there. The crucial question which he has to raise and attempt to solve in this period is the problem of Deuteronomy. His conclusion is that this glorious book is not prophetic but priestly and that it is of late date, later indeed than Jeremiah. At one stroke this sweeps away the conclusions of one hundred and twenty-five years of criticism by the

greatest masters. From Graf and Wellhausen to Driver and George Adam Smith all disappear and the very newest critic, Hölscher, commands the field. This makes the Old Testament narratives of Josiah's reformation fiction, and overturns the central column in the whole structure of modern criticism. For such an overwhelming cataclysm I take the liberty of saying that Hölscher's arguments are insufficient, for they amount in sum total to little more than the "impracticable idealism" of the book. Hölscher's theory has indeed made a stir, but the current of present criticism runs strong against it. Much of it was not perhaps accessible to Cook when he wrote. Oestreicher in *Das Deuteronomische Grundgesetz*, Staerk in *Das Problem des Deuteronomiums*, Löhr, *Das Deuteronomium*, are all on one ground or another in opposition, as are also König and Gressmann, the former particularly on philological grounds. I am very sorry that Cook has yielded to it, and I regard this as a serious blemish upon his work. As an offset to this his bibliographies are far beyond those offered by any other contributor to this volume.

The final judgment of this big book as a whole must be and should be that it is nobly worthy of its great purpose. Let us now have volume IV. and Persia therein as soon as possible.

ROBERT W. ROGERS.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Histoire de Rome: une Cour Princièrre au Vatican pendant la Renaissance, Sixte IV., Innocent VIII., Alexandre VI. Borgia, 1471-1503. By E. RODOCANACHI. (Paris: Hachette. 1925. Pp. 315. 60 fr.)

THIS new book by the author of an *Histoire de Rome de 1354 à 1471* (reviewed in this periodical, XXVIII. 150) and of *Rome au Temps de Jules II. et de Léon X.* (1911) fills the gap between these two works and constitutes an addition to the now considerable number of works by the cultivated author. As an addition to the works available on the period considered, it can be said to have told simply and dispassionately, if without color or vivacity, the events of the years in which the most nearly successful attempts were made to exploit the papal office for the aggrandizement of private families. As might be expected, the pontificate of Alexander VI. engages the chief attention. Considerably more than half the book is taken up with these eleven years, and books on the Borgia pervade the general bibliography even after most of them have been relegated to categories devoted to the three outstanding members of the family. Doubtless these years were the most eventful for the Vatican in a political way, but they were also among the most important in the history of a Rome not yet touched by Raphael and Michelangelo, and the title inspires hope of a book in the spirit of Lanciani's *Golden*

Days of Renaissance Rome. But of the Appartamento Borgia, as of the Sistine Chapel and of Botticelli, Pinturicchio, and Signorelli, the author has little to say. The work is evidently intended to narrate the general history of Sixtus, Innocent, and Alexander. It follows in a thin stream, flowing too placidly to stir up murky depths, the narrative of Gregorovius with the addition of a convenient foot-note, the correction of an occasional name or date, or the utilization of material (printed, not manuscript) of more recent date than the *History of Rome in the Middle Ages*. Such is the *Projets de Croissade* (pp. 236-239), based on the reports of Stefano Taleazzi, published in the Roman *Archivio di Storia Patria*. The style is that of the annalist, and the writer's French predilections result in expressions which jar, as "Château de l'Oeuf" (p. 205)—Why translate Castel dell'Uovo anyhow?—and "Fornoue" (p. 204) for Fornovo. But perhaps the soldiers of Charles VIII. took liberties as flagrant with the names of Italian towns as did the English Tommies who invented "Wipers", or the American doughboys who gave us "Harve".

It is a sumptuous volume, whose place is on the library table rather than the shelves, and whose apparatus of scholarship just misses being too elaborate. The bibliography, while not exhaustive, displays a formidable and well-arranged list of titles of printed authorities old and new. German titles are most conspicuous by their absence. The illustrations have a welcome freshness. Besides the portraits from the Pinturicchio frescoes, usual in a book concerned with the Borgia, there are stimulating photogravures of coins and medals, fortifications, palaces, and monuments, all of which go to reinforce the title rather than the text of the book. In the text, the background of the familiar story of worldly pontiffs and their nephews is only suggested by the repetition, dear to writers on the Renaissance, of the details of pageants and ceremonials which the chroniclers preserved with the zeal of modern society reporters and about as much feeling for the significant.

FREDERICK C. CHURCH.

Histoire de la Nation Française. Dirigée par GABRIEL HANOTAUX, de l'Académie Française. Tome VII. *Histoire Militaire et Navale*, volume I.: *Des Origines aux Croisades*, par le Général J. COLIN; *Des Croisades à la Révolution*, par le Colonel F. REBOUL. (Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Cie. 1925. Pp. 591. 50 fr.)

MILITARY students have long been in the habit of giving special attention to anything written by the author of *L'Education Militaire de Napoléon*. A foot-note to part I of the present volume shows it to have been his last work, left in manuscript, when he was ordered to Macedonia, where he met his death.

General Colin's part in the present work is brief, only one hundred pages out of nearly six hundred. It shows an effort to make military

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history more than a mere narrative of events, by explaining armament, organization, and methods of fighting. Unfortunately, this description is not closely tied into the narrative, and one does not readily form a vivid action-picture of the military machine so well described at rest. The writer is not always consistent; *e.g.*, on page 6 he says, "*aucune cavalerie ne sachant manœuvrer dans l'antiquité*", evidently forgetting Alexander; on page 47, remembering that great captain, "*dans les guerres de l'antiquité, la cavalerie était souvent l'arme décisive grâce à sa mobilité, qui la rendait propre aux manœuvres rapides sur les flancs*".

One may regret, also, the enumeration of so many small operations; the mere catalogue makes no impression, while it takes up space which might have been used in giving a better picture of selected operations of importance. Perhaps these flaws may be explained by the fact, mentioned in the foot-note, that the writer had no time to give his manuscript final revision before starting on what was to prove his last campaign. The book is not entirely up to his usual standard of scholarship, but that standard is hard to maintain.

General Colin's influence continues, even in part II., for his works are among those cited there. This is not to say that Colonel Reboul, himself a writer of ability and experience, has not written independently. But whether by agreement, influence, or chance, the character of the two parts is much the same. The same weaknesses are observed; the descriptive and narrative parts are not tied so closely together as to present a single picture, and an over-conscientious effort to mention as many military operations as possible has brought in many passages of slight interest or value, to the exclusion of useful detail on those more important. The same strength appears, too; military mechanism is treated more fully than in most books, and the material is there to enable the careful reader to form for himself a reasonably satisfactory picture.

At the very outset, the writer does justice, as few do, to the military capacity and technical skill of the Crusading leaders. He presents the Crusades not merely as a grand outburst of enthusiasm, "muddling through somehow", but as military operations, demanding and demonstrating a considerable degree of organizing ability. He shows what kinds of practical experience the leaders had had, and mentions their eager use of the available material for theoretical study, as illustrated by the popularity of Vegetius. At times he seems, in his enthusiasm at finding sound military ideas at work, to overlook some of the unsound. The discussion of the military constitution of the Frankish empire in Syria is good, as is also the appreciation of the value of the monastic military orders, with their thorough organization and strict discipline.

The summary of the influence of the Crusades upon French military thought forms an excellent foundation for the study of the development of royal forces. The appearance of the charge of constable, symbolizing royal control, is noted, and the creation of the "grand maître des

arbalétriers", a dignity marking the rise in importance of foot-troops. The development of infantry is traced; and it is interesting to note the explicit recognition of Machiavelli's influence in the organization of the "legions" of Francis I. Early artillery is not neglected.

The writer clearly states the great problem of the next ensuing period: "le problème du piquier et du mousquetaire, de ces deux fantassins différents, qu'il faut accoupler quand même, est la quadrature du cercle pour les seizième et dix-septième siècles! Point de formations rationnelles, tant que ce dualisme durera." He treats, all too briefly, the gallant struggles of the old sergeants-major to solve the problem, and shows how out of these there gradually grew a definite and permanent regimental organization.

From this time on, events crowd too closely for even an attempt to follow them here. To outline the treatment of the eighteenth century alone would demand more space than could be allotted to a review of the entire work.

Throughout the volume, the navy is not overlooked, but its treatment is much briefer and less thorough than that of the army. And one misses everywhere the documentation which might help the reader who wishes to follow the subject farther; the few citations given raise the suspicion, perhaps unwarranted, that secondary material has been relied upon more than primary.

The conclusion strikingly summarizes the progress of the French army from chaos to unity, and the development of what the writer conceives to be the French doctrine of war. It also brings out those characteristics and tendencies of the old royal army that led to its break-up and reconstruction in the Revolution, and opens the way for the promised second volume. It is a sufficient characterization of the present work, to express the hope that the continuation may be as good.

OLIVER L. SPAULDING, JR.

Histoire de la Nation Française. Dirigée par GABRIEL HANOTAUX, de l'Académie Française. Tome XV. *Histoire des Science en France*, II.: *Histoire des Sciences Biologiques*, par MAURICE CAULLERY; *Histoire de la Philosophie*, par RENÉ LOTE. (Paris: Plon-Nourrit. 1925. Pp. 621. 50 fr.)

IN Gabriel Hanotaux's monumental *Histoire de la Nation Française* we have a notable section on the History of French Philosophy. M. René Lote of the University of Grenoble has given a much-needed account of the origin and progress of the nation's thought in the realm of speculation. The whole work is written with such subtlety and thoroughness that it gives a unique picture of the development of the Gallic spirit, that unbroken attitude of objective intellectualism, from the break-up of Roman civilization through the Middle Ages to modern times. In spite of the heavy load of ancestral systems and of periods of bitter intolerance

the author claims that French metaphysics possesses a certain superiority, not only in its insistence on logic but in its feeling for the nuances of thought. French philosophy is then offered as a proof of the civilization of a country.

The author's attitude towards the Middle Ages is significant. The French have been so long used to scholasticism that they are not taken in by its subtleties as are many of our American neo-realists and critical realists, who are repeating, in rather obscure language, the clear-cut hypotheses of Thomism. To the Frenchman occult "essences" and abstract "subsistents" appear to be not so much actual solutions as so many *jeux d'esprit*. So the latest forms of French philosophy, as presented by Renouvier and Boutroux, by Poincaré and Bergson, leave behind fixed realities and archetypal forms and emphasize chance, contingency, and creative evolution, in a word fluxility and not fixity.

In this work Cartesianism is perhaps overemphasized, but this is natural, since the sceptical method of Descartes is shown to have made the French mind so objective that even at the verge of the Revolution the "astonishing aristocracy" of '89 looked on the reforms of the Encyclopaedists with perfect composure. This society of the salons, composed of "intelligent amateurs", is cleverly contrasted with the Calvinistic type of thinker driven by the Reformation to establish a new discipline, which was nothing but a new tyranny against liberty of philosophizing. Instead of rigid creeds the idea of a natural religion was enlarged into a dream of complete tolerance. The Cartesian insistence on reason is carried on by Voltaire, and the epoch of the Encyclopaedists is marked by an amiable scepticism which tolerated in a somewhat quizzical way even Rousseau's gospel of feeling. But the treatment of these thinkers is not trivial. Voltaire is described as serious in his raillery, and Rousseau as not coldly sceptical, but ardent with enthusiasm for an aristocracy of good-will to replace an aristocracy of birth.

The interplay of temperaments furnishes one point of view in this treatise and the author's descriptions of men like Maine de Biran, Saint-Simon, Auguste Comte, and Ernest Renan form veritable vignettes in a portrait gallery of speculative notables. With the second point of view, namely, that French philosophy is mainly idealistic, a certain distortion arises. The mechanical and materialistic philosophers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are somewhat neglected. Not enough is made of the influence of Descartes's *Le Monde* or such works as Lamettrie's *L'Homme Machine*, while that long list of prerevolutionary thinkers which gave to the Encyclopaedia its anti-idealistic tone is treated too scantily. M. Lote pays much attention to the concurrent stream of French science, but is apt to discount that form of scientific determinism against which the most recent thinkers like Boutroux and Renouvier, Poincaré and Bergson have been fighting so hard. He implies that in the struggle between mechanism and idealism the latter has the best of it, and that pragmatism, with its fictionalism, is more inclined to the latter than to the former.

But as William James said, there are good things on both sides of the line. We may "will to believe" in the tender-minded concepts, but the tough-minded will not down. Besides James the author refers to hardly another American thinker, despite the fact that from Voltaire through Cousin to Bergson there have been a number of followers of French philosophy in this country. But that philosophy is too little known here and for that reason we wish that this brilliant book, with its extremely interesting illustrations, could be reproduced in an English form.

WOODBRIIDGE RILEY.

The Chief Sources of English Legal History. By PERCY H. WINFIELD, LL.D., Fellow and Law Lecturer of St. John's College. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1925. Pp. xviii, 374. \$4.00.)

DR. WINFIELD'S book is based on lectures delivered three years ago in Harvard Law School, with the avowed purpose of helping students in legal research. This purpose is carried out in three ways. In the first place, Dr. Winfield classifies sources of legal history "according to gradation of authority" into statutes, judicial decisions, text-books, and unprofessional books (p. 42). After brief chapters on Anglo-Saxon and on Roman law, he discusses Statutes and Public Records, Case Law and Abridgments, Textbooks and Books of Practice. Most illuminating to the layman is his account of the writ and of the growth of the principle of precedent. As Dean Pound shows, it is an achievement to make a history of the sources of law "an introduction to an internal history of our common law" (p. xvi). This achievement is due partly to an arrangement of material that lays little stress on different sets of courts and various types of law. But for research in the sources of a law that "grew up as a law of the courts" (p. xv), a classification of courts seems desirable. References to the commercial law of the courts of fairs and of the staple would help to account for the paucity of commercial cases in the early abridgments (p. 232).

Secondly, Dr. Winfield gives palaeographical and bibliographical suggestions for beginners, and at the end of each section of the volume prints, with brief comments, lists of the more important authorities. Realizing that the bibliographies in Holdsworth's monumental work have changed the situation, he explains that his book is not a bibliography but merely a "guide to the chief sources" (preface). In confirmation of his prophecy that his omissions will be criticized, I venture to urge that proceedings before justices of the peace and readings at the Inns of Court (in addition to Marowe's) should have been included. The former are important for criminal law, the latter for their interpretation of statutes and for their relation to later text-books. It seems superfluous to print titles on Canon Law (pp. 64-69), almost identical with those in Gross, *Sources and Literature of English History*. Is it not better merely

to refer to Gross and to add recent monographs such as McNeill's and Oakley's on Penitentials? For tracts printed before 1600, it is dangerous to rely on Worrall's and Clarke's catalogues, in preference to publications of the Bibliographical Society. Examples of errors are the misleading lists on pages 283-286, and the statement that Middleton was printing in "about 1515" (p. 280), a date twenty-five years too early.

Thirdly, Dr. Winfield presents conclusions derived from his own research that are important contributions to legal knowledge. One can not praise too highly both his methods and his results. His endeavor to find a consistent test of what constitutes a statute lends peculiar value to his chapter on statutes. His painstaking analysis of the cases in the first four printed abridgments goes far toward solving difficult problems of origin and contents. One would like to know his opinion on a fifteenth-century manuscript abridgment in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 16168), and on the beautifully illustrated fragment in the Inner Temple.

I have noted a few bibliographical mistakes not vital for the main argument. The uncertainty about Statham's first name is dispelled by available information, much of which has recently been published. Sir Anthony Fitzherbert is not the author of books on husbandry and surveying, nor is the evidence for his education at Gray's Inn 'merely traditional' (p. 224).

A few slips may be indicated: page 13, note 1, Pollack for Pollock; page 91, note 3, 1518 for 1508; page 181, Reorder for Recorder; page 207, 49 Henry VI. is correct. On page 220, note 3, there seems to be an error in assigning to the John Rockefeller Library a copy of the Abridgment of the Book of Assises.

BERTHA HAVEN PUTNAM.

Mémoires et Documents pour servir à l'Histoire du Commerce et de l'Industrie en France. Publiés sous la direction de JULIEN HAYEM. *La Commerce de la Bretagne au XVIII^e Siècle.* Par HENRI SÉE. *Quelques Professions Connues, Inconnues, et Méconnues.* Par JULIEN HAYEM. (Paris: Hachette. 1925. Pp. vii, 345. 30 fr.)

THE major portion of this book is a carefully documented monograph by Henri Sée on the commercial and maritime affairs of the Breton ports of St. Malo and Morlaix, and, in a lesser degree, of Nantes, Landerneau, Lorient, and Paimboeuf in the eighteenth century. Bound in the same volume (pp. 271-344), but irrelevant to the former treatise, is Julien Hayem's report of 1918, based on his investigation as tax commissioner, on a classification of professions in contemporary France.

As a contribution to the maritime history of Brittany M. Sée's work is not a collection of source-material but a description and interpretation in the author's clear and precise narrative of the commercial adventures

of the old firms of Magon de la Balue at St. Malo and of Guillotou de Kerever at Morlaix. Their papers, whereon the investigation mainly rests, reveal the whole technique of Breton commerce: the association of capitalists for foreign ventures; the amounts and duration of investments; profits and losses; the mechanism of banking, exchange, insurance, and a general commission business for Frenchmen and foreigners; the tonnage of vessels, cargoes, and voyages. Trade with Holland and Scandinavia was confined mostly to ships of those countries. Breton boats, usually of from 200 to 400 tons, conducted the coastal trade, constant intercourse with Cadiz, the Newfoundland cod-fishery, and infrequent ventures to Africa, the Antilles, the South Sea, and the Orient. Commerce with England and Ireland was restrained by British navigation laws which, nevertheless, gave rise to considerable contraband trade. Under French mercantilism itself Breton adventurers were restless and agitated for free ports, but up to the Revolution France contained but four such ports: Marseilles, Bayonne, Dunkirk, and Lorient, the latter being the only one in Brittany.

From St. Malo the exports were mainly Breton cloth, codfish, brandy, and some grain, though Malouins dealt in anything that would readily sell anywhere, particularly at Cadiz for the Spanish colonial markets. Returns comprised Spanish specie and colonial products that were widely marketed. Communications with Dacosta in London for textiles, with Temminck of Amsterdam for wax, with silk manufacturers of Lyons, with Gobien of Marseilles, Vanschoonhaven of Hamburg, Pedro Vigo and others of Cadiz, suggest but faintly the extent of Malouin trade. Yet their commerce with Africa and the Antilles was slight. In these quarters Nantes was supreme, and though the author gives valuable statistics of her trade with the French West Indies in sugar, coffee, indigo, and cotton, the history of the port of Nantes remains to be written. Morlaix's commerce was similar to St. Malo's but smaller. Both ports, so flourishing in the seventeenth century, declined in the eighteenth, especially after 1740; more and more were they isolated from the highways of world-trade. Neither was located at the mouth of an important river-traffic or tapped a hinterland of agricultural or industrial importance; and English competition was increasingly injurious in Spanish America, even in the French West Indies through connivance of royal officials. The outbreak of war with Britain in 1793 finally terminated, except for privateering, the maritime importance of Breton ports.

Fishing has always been one of the major industries of Brittany, and a nursery of seamen. On the Channel coast codfish was of prime importance, while the population of the southern shore was sustained mainly by sardine fisheries. A *cahier* of 1789 from Lanriec describes the labor and grievances of these fisher-folk; poor mariners were at the mercy of wealthy merchants who monopolized the supply of bait; the greater struggle of the following century between small enterprise and capitalism had already begun.

The social structure resting upon such maritime activity in the old Breton ports is revealed through an examination, among various sources, of the tax rolls of the early period of the Revolution. The bourgeoisie by this time, rich in a heritage from bygone trade, generally retired from the sea, speculated in assignats and securities, and simulated the life of the nobility with whom indeed many of them had long been affiliated and whose political conservatism they shared. And thus at the end of the monarchy the curtain falls on this fascinating picture of the quaint old dwellings and docks that still survive as picturesque memorials of the dawn of French imperialism. The book leaves little ground for criticism; as economic history it occupies a worthy position beside the works of d'Avenel, Levasseur, and Scelle, and should prove as valuable to students of European expansion as to historians of the Old Régime.

FRANK WESLEY PITMAN.

Mr. Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth. By CONYERS READ. Three volumes. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press; Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1925. Pp. vii, 443; 433; 506. \$20.00.)

Mr. Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth is the ripe fruition of upwards of two decades of exhaustive research, of extensive reading, and of open-minded, intelligent, and critical meditation. Time and effort have been unsparingly employed in order to secure every scrap of relevant material, to appraise it justly, and to weave it into its proper setting. Rarely does a scholar have such an opportunity. In an age as colorful as any in English history, perhaps in all recorded time, he may set "before our eyes the things worthy of remembrance that have been done . . . by mighty nations, noble kings and princes, wise governors, valiant captains and persons renowned for some notable quality, representing unto us the laws and customs of old time, the particular affairs of men, their consultations and enterprises, the means they have used to compass them withal and their demeaning of themselves".

While the author effectively pictures large and stirring events and handles involved and complicated problems with uncommon skill, his work will probably fail to satisfy fully at least two or three classes of students and readers. In the first place, there will be those who would prefer more emphasis upon the structure and operation of the contemporary governmental system or upon the rich if oft-tilled field of non-political conditions. Perhaps the subtitle should prepare such folk in advance. Although there are a few valuable minutes on the duties of the secretary of state, there is comparatively little on the institutions of the period, nor—save for some welcome and fresh information on the cloth trade, the trading companies and maritime ventures in which Walsingham was concerned—is there any attempt to resurvey Elizabethan social and

industrial conditions. In the second place, the jaded appetites of many who have been indulging in a surfeit of "intimate biography" will find little to stimulate them here. Dr. Read announces frankly at the outset that there are few personal details known to have survived respecting Walsingham's private life. Furthermore, while eloquent and even epigrammatic upon occasions, as will be instanced presently, Mr. Secretary was the typical grave statesman who, according to Disraeli, is required by an insular people surrounded by fog and possessing a powerful middle class. On the whole, the few extant samples of his humor and levity are reminiscent of Hannibal's famous Barmecide jest to Gisco as recorded by Plutarch.

Nevertheless, the biography is not only interesting in the sense of dealing with matters of profound interest in the destinies of rulers and nations, but there are terse, salty, and even dramatic and vivid pieces of writing—a taste of the former quality may be found in volume I., on page 6; of the latter, in volume II., on pages 95–100. Furthermore, the whole presentation is distinguished by gratifying clarity, and indubitable mastery of the sources, as well as a detachment so nearly Olympian as to compel admiration and respect. To be sure, there are stretches of longsome and tortuous negotiations with Scotland, France, Spain, and the Low Countries, which the author candidly admits have to be followed to lengths somewhat wearisome at times. Yet the traveller through these possibly arid reaches has the advantage of a guide with equipment and capacity to keep him in the right paths. Also, there are frequent oases, for example, plots with brilliant studies of Walsingham's method of detecting and exposing them. Here we find fact as enthralling as fiction and, in many cases, for the first time, the real truth is extricated from legend and surmise.

Perhaps in the broader features of Elizabethan policy scholars will not, from what is here set forth, have occasion to revise materially their views, but they will have securer foundations on which to base them. In addition not a few specific contributions to the history of the period are provided. The divisions in the Council, together with the fluctuating relations between Walsingham and Burghley, are for the first time elucidated upon sufficient first-hand evidence. Also, the footing upon which Walsingham and Leicester stood toward one another is presented more fully and convincingly than ever before. Particularly the reasons why the secretary drew away from the queen's unworthy favorite after the inglorious expedition to the Netherlands in 1585 are discussed at length, though, in the opinion of the reviewer, disillusionment consequent upon Leicester's incapacity might have been stressed to a greater degree. The contrasts between Walsingham's and Elizabeth's policy are brought out at intervals. Manifestly the author holds no brief for the man whose achievements he has elected to portray, and apparently he overlooks none of his mistakes or shortcomings. At the same time, he defends him

stoutly, when occasion demands, against prejudiced and ill-founded criticisms. Ample extracts from his letters and papers demonstrate that, while sparing in the lighter displays of wit and humor, he could picture with searching insight men and situations, and express himself when necessary with pungency or lofty dignity—witness the gem on Mary, Queen of Scots (I. 69); his estimates of Olivarez and the Spanish (I22), of the French (I30); or, as a sample of his eloquence, his words on war (317).

As the narrative progresses one is made to realize what a burden it was to serve such a monarch as Elizabeth. Her meanness, capriciousness, and gusty displays of temper are illustrated with fresh examples (*e.g.*, II. 22, 71, III. 141). Perhaps the high point was reached when Walsingham felt constrained to “request that he might be allowed to retire from her service and devote the rest of his days in prayer for her, ‘whom in all appearance, salvation itself was not able to save, if she continued the course she was in’” (III. 137). On the other hand, full justice is done to her courage, adroitness, moderation, and ability to envisage domestic and foreign problems from all sides (*e.g.*, II. 117). Did space permit it would be of interest to enumerate the many specific incidents on which new light is thrown; for instance, Elizabeth’s attitude toward the French in the Netherlands (I. 295) and the Dutch finances (II. 111). While the author considers in detail, with the aid of additional evidence, the events leading up to such familiar matters as the massacre of St. Bartholomew’s and the Spanish Armada, the actual stories, so often told, are very properly passed over lightly. Yet, in stressing Elizabeth’s thriftiness in failing to provide adequate munitions and supplies to cope with the Spanish attack and to reap the full force of the repulse by a devastating pursuit, the reviewer queries whether enough has been made of the faulty system of administration beyond the queen’s control—nor, it would seem, is quite enough credit given to the Dutch for their blockade of Parma’s forces. The work is so carefully done, including proof-reading, that errors and slips are almost negligible. The “religious establishment which looked for its government and its ritual towards Rome” (I. 31) needs a bit more explanation, and perhaps it is rather early to speak of Arminianism (III. 158), though Arminius was born in 1560. The portrait of Lady Walsingham, referred to (I. x), is in volume I. not volume III. The style is so good that it is a pity that “provoke” and “reaction” occur so frequently and that “verbal” is constantly preferred to “oral”. It must have required some hardihood for Parry to “deny the fact” (II. 404), and Babington must have been decidedly in advance of his time if he “determined to fly” (III. 21).

Previous scholars including Froude, M. A. S. Hume, Corbett, and Pollen, who have worked on one or another of the various aspects of the subject, have been set right by Dr. Read on numerous points. In the vast bibliography and in the mass of references ample credit is given to forerunners, particularly to Stählin for his findings about the early

life of Walsingham. Apparently he abandoned the subject many years ago and turned to Russian history. Among the few noticeable omissions are Paul Van Dyke's *Catherine de Médicis* and Erich Marcks's brilliant torso of *Coligny*.

The author's patience has been infinite in searching records, studying crabbed handwriting, pondering over mutilated documents, and interpreting ciphers, to say nothing of reading practically all the available literature, yet he has never got lost in the intricacies of the subject, he has kept many threads cunningly in hand, he has provided indispensable summaries at appropriate moments, and has interpreted sagely with sound reasons or acceptable conjectures. Altogether, he has produced a study of the public life of an outstanding man in a notable age that is a credit to American scholarship.

ARTHUR LYON CROSS.

A History of England from the Defeat of the Armada to the Death of Elizabeth, with an Account of English Institutions during the Later Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries. By EDWARD P. CHEYNEY, Professor of European History in the University of Pennsylvania. Volume II. (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1926. Pp. viii, 589. \$6.50.)

TWELVE years have elapsed since the publication of the first installment of Professor Cheyney's *magnum opus*, but his readers are now richly rewarded for their long wait. We possess at last a standard history of fifteen of the most difficult years of English history, by a recognized master of the period; we have seen the gap between Froude and Gardiner bridged. With his usual modesty Professor Cheyney disclaims all pretensions to have dealt with every phase of his chosen field, of which variety and versatility are perhaps the most outstanding characteristics; he enumerates in detail the things that he has left out (preface and pp. 551-552) and gives his reasons for so doing. We shall revert to this point a little further on, but in the first place let us turn to the matters of which he has elected to treat, to the actual contents of the volume that lies before us.

The titles of the six parts into which it is divided—the Year 1596, the League against Spain, the Last Four Parliaments of Queen Elizabeth, Local Government, the Fall of Essex, and the Last Days of the Reign—give the best possible idea of Professor Cheyney's method of approach, an exceedingly skillful combination of the narrative and the topical. It is difficult to single out the most notable chapter. Every one of them has great merits, but those whose material is newest are not invariably the best. Those on Scarcity and Turbulence, with which the book begins, are a salutary reminder that the general prosperity which is usually associated with the close of the Elizabethan age was interspersed with brief crises of great misery and want. The account of the capture of Calais

by the Spaniards in 1596 gives an excellent picture of a much-neglected episode; and the opportunity is admirably utilized to portray the queen's changeableness in one of the most irritating of its many manifestations. Professor Cheyney does not err on the side of hero-worship; sometimes, indeed, we can not help wishing that he had let himself go a little more, and permitted himself to be borne along by the enthusiasm of the times. Every one of the chapters in the part on Local Government contains a wealth of fresh information; that on the Lord Lieutenant is perhaps the best of them; it is a pity that it was not available in England in 1914, when so much doubt and confusion existed as to the measure of authority to which these functionaries could claim an historically valid right. And yet we doubt if the general reader will find these newer portions of the book as pleasant reading as the chapter on the Parliament of 1601, especially the pages on the monopolies, in which an oft-told tale has been presented afresh in most attractive form, or the part devoted to the last ventures and tragic fate of the Earl of Essex, who is rightly characterized as "the best-loved man of his time". The use of quotations is most impressive throughout. Invariably apt, they are selected from the widest range of primary and secondary authorities. They constitute, for anyone who is familiar with the history of the period, the most convincing proof of the breadth of the author's reading and the thoroughness of his research.

Passing on to omissions—and one's verdict on a book like the present will largely depend on one's opinion of the author's selection of the topics to be dealt with and the topics to be ignored—they are, as we have already stated, duly enumerated and explained. In most of these cases we are amply content to accept Professor Cheyney's reasons without cavil; but there are two, at least, to which we feel bound to take exception. The first of these is the absence of all discussion of matters ecclesiastical. So inextricably interwoven were the affairs of Church and State during the period under consideration that it does not seem to the reviewer as if any picture of the times could possibly have a correct perspective, when the internal organization and development of the Anglican Establishment, and the story of its struggles with the Catholics and the Puritans, are left virtually untouched. How vast, for example, were the political and economic consequences of the religious legislation of the year 1593! We hasten to add that Professor Cheyney, in our opinion, has come incredibly near to achieving the impossible. So admirable has been his work, both in the collection and arrangement of his material, that we are carried along with the story as he tells it, and forget, for the moment, what he has seen fit to withhold; and yet, after all, we can not feel that his proportions are quite just. And secondly, we find it hard to forgive him for his failure to afford us any indication of the relative values of his sources of information. Every statement is splendidly backed up, as is the case with everything he has ever written; but the

foot-notes give only the names and page-references for his different authorities, manuscript sources, ancient memoirs, standard histories, and modern monographs, without any effort to distinguish between them, and this is profoundly discouraging to the inexperienced. Professor Cheyney's excuse is "the anticipated early appearance of the general Bibliography of English History of the Tudor period, being prepared by a group of American scholars". His unselfish loyalty to his colleagues in the preparation of that unhappy publication is characteristic; but some of them will wonder whether he would not have done better had he given to the readers of his own book some glimpses, at least, of his unrivalled knowledge of the authorities on his chosen field.

The volume is marred by a few minor inaccuracies. On page 518, for example, the queen's birthday is given as November 17. At the top of page 567, the real date, September 7, is correctly stated; but a few lines lower down, November 17 appears again, this time as the anniversary of Elizabeth's coronation. As a matter of fact, November 17 was the day of Mary Tudor's death and consequently that of Elizabeth's accession; she was crowned on January 15, 1559, and a very notable occasion it was, from many points of view.

Certain things, moreover, are left hanging in the air. Thus the discussion of the Poor Law ends with the act of 1597; there is not a word about the great statute of 1601, which, though in large measure a verbatim re-enactment of that of four years before, consolidated all the gains that had been made in the Tudor period, and was described by that eminent eighteenth-century antiquarian, Richard Burn, as having given rise "to more litigation, and a greater amount of revenue . . . with consequences more extensive and more serious in their aspect than ever were identified with any other act of Parliament or system of legislation whatsoever". This last defect, of which other instances might be given, is doubtless the almost inevitable result of the enormous variety of topics taken up, of the great length of time over which the preparation of the volume has been spread, and of the many interruptions that have marked its progress.

But let us have done with petty criticism at once. One of the chief fascinations of the Elizabethan period is its capacity for provoking discussion. Most of the reviewer's strictures have to do rather with matters of opinion than of fact. Many of his readers will doubtless disagree with him; and those who do not will readily admit that the points on which he has ventured to differ from the author are as nothing in comparison with the solid worth of Professor Cheyney's great achievement. In a notice of his first volume (*American Historical Review*, XIX. 883-885) the reviewer wrote that the prevailing impression it created was "that of the best kind of soundness and historical honesty"; he now sees every reason to confirm and emphasize the verdict then expressed. And he hastens to add that there is not a dull page in the whole book.

If one picks it up for fifteen minutes, one is likely to find that one reads on for hours; the reviewer speaks with feeling on this point, for he became so absorbed in Professor Cheyney's pages a few weeks ago, that he missed an important engagement. The work will prove attractive to the general reader as well as indispensable to the specialist. It reflects the many wonderful qualities of the age it describes. It will take high rank among the notable monuments of American historical scholarship.

ROGER B. MERRIMAN.

Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, relating to English Affairs, existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, and in other Libraries of Northern Italy. Volume XXIV., 1636-1639. Volume XXV., 1640-1642. Edited by ALLEN B. HINDS, M.A. (London: H. M. Stationery Office. 1923, 1924. Pp. lvi, 792: xxviii, 382. £ 2; £ 1. 7 s. 6 d.)

It is hard to overestimate the service of the *Venetian Calendars* to English history. If one picks up any of the modern secondary works on Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, he can judge from their foot-notes the importance of the close observation of the Venetian ambassador. The student who essays to learn something of the House of Commons in the reign of Henry VIII., when *Rotuli* have ceased and *Journals* have not yet begun, will discover that next to Edward Hall, the Venetian observer is his most important source. The comings and goings of Elizabeth, her moods and mutations, are nowhere more fully related than in the same source for the latter part of the century. At an early date the Venetians seem to have developed a considerable degree of training in their diplomatic service and a professional sense. Their ambassadors were not men of great rank who desired change and travel for a season, but men of acute intelligence who had sounded the polity and examined the institutions of other nations and who were experienced in acquiring and sifting information. Hence these *Calendars* for the years immediately preceding the Long Parliament and for the first part of that Parliament up to the outbreak of the Civil War will receive a welcome from every one interested in the Grand Rebellion and its backgrounds.

One of the mysteries about the Long Parliament has been as to its leadership. How did it come about that Pym, Hampden, St. John, and others so quickly won control of the course of proceedings? The Venetian reports do something, if not as much as could be wished, to clear this up. For three years before the Short Parliament there had been many secret meetings of a group of opposition leaders, who, conscious of a public opinion almost militant behind them, were making plans to force the summons of a Parliament and to control that body when it met. Strafford and Laud were to be got rid of, and quickly, the power

of the bishops was to be overthrown and the high Anglican policy rooted out, Catholics were to be severely dealt with, the power of Parliament was to be fortified and the influence of the king limited. To read the reports one would attach prophetic insight to Correr and Giustinian, did one not realize that they were evidently in touch with leaders who had imagination and a constructive policy, and who were so assured of success that they dared whisper.

Even better than he knew the opposition, the Venetian ambassador knew the court and the vacillations of feeling and opinion there. If there were anyone in the world unconvinced of the weakness and instability of Charles I.—the cult of the Martyr King is so great that there are many—let him read this narrative of a diplomat who was not only close to the court but in sympathy with it. It is not news that Charles I. wobbled between determination to establish the royal power upon a new foundation and craven fear of public opinion as it expressed itself, under Pym's organizing genius, in mob violence. But in our other records, while the Long Parliament moves forward with swift, aggressive steps, Majesty keeps on a mask; here we are allowed to see the face of Charles drawn with suffering or flushed with intense emotion.

Not only personal details but constitutional conceptions are to be found in these reports, as in the reports of the Venetian ambassadors all the way back to the time of Henry VIII. Again and again Venetian ambassadors give us an interpretation of the English constitution that would prove admirable confirmation of that offered by Freeman, Stubbs, etc. The English kings, said one Venetian ambassador after another, had not always had the power they now possessed. There was a good old time, so they were informed, when parliaments had been powerful, when kings had to listen to them. Those who still believe in a Lancastrian constitution, who still teach Hallam's brilliant summary of the English constitution at 1485, will find comfort from reading the Venetian reports. Those who regard the constitutional winnings of the Lancastrian period as over-estimated, who see not a loss but a gain of parliamentary powers during the period of "Tudor despotism" will have to ask themselves, where did this idea of an olden time when kings were in restraint and parliaments prevailed come from? Was it a kind of folk-myth of a former great age, such as the Irish myth, was it a desire for the future thrown into the past? Did the nobles and clergy at the beginning of the French Revolution look back upon a time when France had a constitution?

Of course these *Calendars* are mainly interesting not for institutional history but for diplomacy and international relations. There is much information about trading and trading companies and bits of comment upon economic conditions. Merchants who too seldom appear in other records go in and out of the letters.

The editing has been thoroughly done by Mr. Hinds. There are not many foot-notes, but a few that prove how carefully the day-by-day

narrative of the ambassador has been checked by other sources. It seems to me a bit of pedantry to put in the text: "Thè King selected Lord Clavel for governor" and explain in a foot-note that Lord Saville is meant. Any one at all familiar with seventeenth-century French script can see at once that *Cl* is a transcriber's error for *S*. The index is a model of its kind. One can hardly praise too highly the recent indexes of the *Calendars*. Every student of English history, when he comes to make an index, may well turn to the *Calendars* for guidance.

WALLACE NOTESTEIN.

The Grain Supply of England during the Napoleonic Period. By W. FREEMAN GALPIN. [University of Michigan Publications, History and Political Science, VI.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1925. Pp. xi, 305. \$3.00.)

STUDENTS of economic history and those interested in any aspect of the Napoleonic era must have noted the potentialities of the subject of this dissertation. In this opinion they are likely to be confirmed by varied and copious evidence revealed by Dr. Galpin's energetic researches—archival and other—as indicated by his array of foot-notes and impressive bibliography. These implications of scholarship, the moderate size, and excellent mechanical form, as well as the vital theme, should create interest in this monograph. Careful readers may, or may not, be agreed that Dr. Galpin has satisfactorily realized and developed the actual potentialities of his subject. At least they can find in the final chapter some stimulating deductions, presumably warranted by precedent evidence, as well as some suggestions, not actually developed by the author, all intended to show the fallacy of hypotheses that Napoleon, had he tried, could have coerced Britain by a starvation attack. From the vantage point of the Conclusions the reader may see, what may not have been seen before, that the author has meant to show that Britain's supposed grain shortage was relatively illusory, and that, anyway, during critical years grain imports, as traced in the chapters on prices and movements, were chiefly from Ireland, America, or other regions practically secure from Napoleonic interdiction. All readers, however, may not accept these deductions. They may even wonder if all the research is definitive when a chance check on a few rather vital sources reveals surprising readings or omissions. And such doubts may be deepened by such significant slips as the omission of writings of John Quincy Adams from the bibliography (but *cf.* p. 185 n.), or the wrong evaluation of the Jefferson manuscripts at Boston, and of the Auckland Papers in the British Museum. Also, remembering Auckland's momentous influence upon British economic policies during his long career as diplomat and Cabinet minister, the informed reader will note with wonder the declaration that "Lord Auckland was Bishop of Bath, and his letters have considerable

interest and value". Shades of William Eden! Can Dr. Galpin be ignorant of his treaty, or did he miss the Auckland signature on the note appended to the American treaty of December 31, 1806, and the famous January 1807 Order in Council, among the Privy Council papers he cites?

The matter of thorough research, however, may not concern all readers of the dissertation, for all may not persevere to the Conclusions and bibliography. Some may be deterred by the type of treatment required by the subject, or by the author's seeming lack of objective or logical plan in the earlier chapters. Some may be discouraged by defects of presentation, assertions compounded of erudition and naïveté, peculiar uses of words and idioms, and even some unhappy turns of style, such as the metaphorical *mélange* of long-necked bottle (Sweden) and royal corks (Bernadotte, *et al.*); thrones upset by overflowing kettles of revolution, *et cetera*, found in the discussion of the Swedish situation (p. 186). Still other readers may be exasperated by the propensity of the narrative to drop the scent of the real quarry of the hunt in order to dig out moles or run after sparrows. Such readers may question the pertinence of much of the West India discussion in the "Corn versus Sugar" chapter. They surely will challenge the interjection, at the crucial point of the thesis, of a digression—a fifth of the whole in length—upon the essentially irrelevant problem of British "licensed trade". For they may well feel that the issue is not merely one of the position and relevance but of the intrinsic value of this chapter for the thesis, particularly since, as a treatment of actual practices, it surely should have been based upon the Board of Trade "licence registers" which Dr. Galpin could have used at the Record Office, rather than upon the scrappy data in the Privy Council Office bearing on the evolution of the ostensible policy. Digressions such as these, and others less serious, are unfortunate because, taken in connection with various little slips of facts, or crudities of form or statement, they are likely to give the impression of a series of seminar reports prematurely published, rather than such a thoroughly digested, definitive monograph as should have been expected from the topic, the able direction under which it was worked, and Dr. Galpin's own abilities and surely very extensive researches. Thereby he has given the reviewer the ungrateful duty of blaming where gladly he had only praised the distinctive merits of the dissertation.

F. E. MELVIN.

Studies in the History of Political Philosophy before and after Rousseau. By C. E. VAUGHAN, M.A., Litt.D.; edited by A. G. Little, M.A., F.B.A. Two volumes. [Publications of the University of Manchester, nos. CLXVI. and CLXVII.] (Manchester: University Press; London and New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1925. Pp. xxix, 364; xix, 339. 42 s.)

THE late Professor Vaughan's *Studies in the History of Political Philosophy* might well be described as the rise and fall of the contract theory. It is very largely the story of that theory's development and supplanting.

Yet these two volumes, Hobbes to Hume, Burke to Mazzini, now published after a signally successful task of the editor, who found the first volume practically ready, but with his co-workers, Professors A. S. Mackenzie and A. C. Bradley, appears to have had much labor in compilation and preparation of the second, are conspicuous for the omission of Rousseau, perhaps the chief actor in the whole story. Did not the "contrat social" virtually become for Rousseau an act of nature rather than an afterthought or inspired volition of man? For Rousseau, too, did not the individual cease to be a mere atom or original element having, however "naturally", certain occult rights? And what more dramatic than those changes! Even a third volume, then, might well have come between these two and of course, had Vaughan lived, a volume or at least several chapters must have been added on "the philosopher of the French Revolution". In Vaughan's opinion, as in that of his great cousin, T. H. Green, author of *Principles of Political Obligation*, Rousseau was a philosopher of revolution even more broadly understood. Indeed Rousseau might be said to have brought euthanasia to the contract theory and so the maximum to the curve of its history. So Vaughan thought and, as early as 1915 he had published his most important work, *The Political Writings of Jean Jacques Rousseau*, with an introduction, in which he gives his estimate of Rousseau and to which anyone wishing the whole story, as Vaughan would tell it, completing these *Studies*, should now turn. The primary interest in Rousseau, strangely enough, explains the omission from the posthumous work.

Green has been mentioned. Vaughan really carries on, as every student of English thought must quickly see and appreciate, the Green tradition, not merely as expressed in the emphasis on the maximal Rousseau, but also as shown in the influential turn given to idealistic philosophy by that distinguished thinker and teacher.

The *Studies*, furthermore, are notable and valuable as the work of one who was not in the special sense a political scientist and who also was not a political historian. In fact the technical concerns of the former are noticeably lacking and there is a surprising dearth of politico-historical allusion or illustration. Not a political scientist, however,

Vaughan has been able to bring into political science a wholesome breadth of view and in consequence a different perspective with new effects of light and shade. Again, not a political historian and neglectful if not quite oblivious of positive events, he has enjoyed and used to good purpose a perhaps dangerous but still often profitable freedom and comprehensiveness of thought, not only the peculiar license but also the real opportunity of any idealist. One reviewer of these *Studies*¹ has said that the history of political philosophy still lacks a history that will "do justice to the interrelations between philosophical ideas and social practices"; but, true as this is, such a work as Vaughan's is serviceable in itself and may greatly aid the filling of this gap.

Professor Vaughan, it must be kept in mind, was never a professor of political theory in any sense. In Wales, at the University of Durham, at Leeds, at Manchester, his official appointment was in English language and literature, but his special interest in Romanticism, the romantic movement and revolt, led him to Rousseau and his work in Rousseau expanded into this history from Hobbes to Mazzini. He had, moreover, evidently planned—or had been planned?—for "orders". Various circumstances show such leanings of his own as well as among others for him. With his broad literary interest, then, and its resort to philosophy and many philosophers went a religious purpose, very real but, as developed, spiritually free rather than ecclesiastical, and this undoubtedly had much influence on his life and work and greatly affected the spirit, manner, and content of the historical *Studies*. One writer has said of him: "In his professional capacity, from a classical form-master, he became a professor of English literature: and in his private predilection, his province was the mind of Europe during the last two centuries. There was an air of sanctity about the zeal with which [he] devoted his life to these studies."² Certainly the present work reflects the man so portrayed.

Illustrating the changed perspective, that was mentioned above, is the large space given to such philosophers as Spinoza and Hume, especially the former, and also, in the second volume, to Kant, Fichte, and Hegel. Dunning, political scientist and important historian, has not neglected these, although Spinoza is little more than mentioned by him, but Dunning's treatment is in general narrow and for the most part from outside. Vaughan, it can be said, whatever exception some may take to his philosophical bias, has an intimate and appreciative knowledge of these philosophers, knowing not just certain particular doctrines, but the general philosophies, which of course have had important influence on politics or political theory or both. Spinoza is a notable case and we should feel greatly indebted for Vaughan's whole and even fifty-seven-

¹ Professor H. W. Schneider, *Journal of Philosophy*, vol. XXIII., no. 6 (1926), p. 156.

² H. B. Charlton, as quoted on p. vii of vol. II.

pages-long chapter on the great persecuted Jew whose race in him was once more serving Christendom, whose philosophy of nature was also at once ethics and theology, and whose political philosophy, while outwardly utilitarian and insistent on expediency, was no mere restatement of Hobbes's views or forerunner of Bentham's and emphatically is to be understood for its determination to make the lofty ideals of duty, honor, and justice still attentive and responsible to things as naturally and rationally they are. Getting that whole long chapter of attention in a history of political philosophy, Spinoza may now lie more comfortably.

As my reviewer's last word, it may be inferred from the evidence of this work that in general for any field of interest and study, whether for itself or for its history, there is always profit when one who professionally may be little more than a stranger, little better than an inexperienced layman, but who himself has breadth of view and keen understanding, fineness of feeling and depth of purpose, enters in and, between obvious limitations and yet also real opportunities, makes his contribution.

A. H. LLOYD.

Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, July, 1711-June, 1712, preserved in the Public Record Office. Edited by CECIL HEADLAM, M.A. (London: H. M. Stationery Office. 1925. Pp. xliii, 388. £1 10 s.)

Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, from November 1718 to December 1722, preserved in the Public Record Office. (London: H. M. Stationery Office. 1925. Pp. iv, 435. £1 10 s.)

THE publication of two new volumes in the Public Record Office series—one the *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, 1711-1712*, the other the *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, November 1718 to December 1722*—is a cause for congratulation on the part of all interested in colonial history. The first covers a period when important constitutional issues were under agitation in Jamaica, Barbados, the Leeward Islands (following the murder of Governor Parke), New York, and Virginia, and deals at considerable length with the situation that preceded the Treaty of Utrecht; the other, less concerned with outstanding problems, pursues a more tranquil course, but at the same time presents to the reader many opportunities for watching the activities of the Board of Trade and the application of the British system in America. The constitutional questions involved are the position of the governor general in the Leeward Islands, the assembly's right of adjourning itself for a longer time than *de die in diem* in both Barbados and Antigua, a claim that the Board of Trade said was "altogether groundless" (p. 161), the parsimony of the assembly in Virginia, where,

Spotswood wrote, "he is the best patriot that most violently opposes the raising of any money let the occasion be what it will" (p. 220; *Spotswood Letters*, I. 140), and especially in New York, where the assembly was calling in question the council's share in legislation, basing its contention on "an inherent right", declaring "the powers granted by H. M. letters patent to be against law", and, following the Connecticut model, taking a step that Hunter asserted was but one short of a declaration of all independence of the power of the prerogative (p. 189; *New York Colonial Documents*, V. 296). Though Mr. Headlam does not say so, these contests in Virginia and New York are already well known to students and the calendared documents are to be found in print in this country. On the other hand, some of the enclosures are here printed for the first time.

The chief interest in the *Journal* for the four uneventful years from 1718 to 1722 lies in the fact, here demonstrated on every page, that though the personnel of the board might be subject to political manipulation and the recorded activities might seem to be less than at earlier periods—a point I think overstressed by writers on the history of the board—the Plantation Office was functioning all the time. The secretary and the clerks were doing their work efficiently and well. Though the board had no executive powers and no right to dispose of any public money, it was at this time preparing an important series of state papers, adjusting trade relations with Denmark, Venice, Danzig, Sicily, Spain, Portugal, and Madeira; considering the problems of the fishery at Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and New England; discussing the grievances of the English weavers and the complaints against the East India Company; and taking up other questions that led eventually to the preparation of representations, most elaborate of which was that of 1721 on trade in general, upon which they were engaged from November 11, 1720, to September 8, 1721, and which fills forty pages in the *New York Documents*. One finds here also many hearings and discussions, in which Joshua Gee took a prominent part, that led to new enumerations, duties, and acts of Parliament; and we are given much new and welcome light on a good deal that went on behind the scenes. I am impressed with the number of Orders of Council, undoubtedly originating with the Committee of the Privy Council, that gave direction to the board, but are not to be found either in the Privy Council Register or in the printed *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*. A list of these would be worth collecting.

Mr. Headlam's calendaring is above reproach and we are all under debt to him for the fullness of his extracts and the rapidity with which he is preparing the material for publication. One or two points in his preface call for comment. With the help of Professor A. P. Newton, he has been able to identify a puzzling quotation in one of Hunter's letters from New York as coming from Harrington's *Oceana*. The

identification was well worth making, for even Mr. Russell Smith passed it by in his *Harrington and his Oceana* (1914), but the passage itself has long been familiar (*New York Colonial Documents*, V. 252-256). In another place he says, as if the point were beyond dispute, that in the proprietary governments the councils "were a mere cipher having no share in the legislature". I am afraid that his statement is based rather on Hunter's remark (p. 103) than on the facts in the case, for the council was not a cipher in legislation, even in Pennsylvania. Stranger still, on page xxi Mr. Headlam wonders what has become of the Blathwayt papers, and thinks that students of colonial history would give a good deal to find them. Surely he can not be unfamiliar with the existence of many of them, notably the so-called "Journal", in the Public Record Office and the British Museum, with transcripts in the Library of Congress, or with the purchase at Sotheby's in 1910 of the family papers by a Bond Street print dealer, who will sell them to any one for £25,000. Students have known where these papers were for a number of years and would be glad not to find them but to have access to them.

The indexer of the *Journal* has made a sad mess of the Popple family, by confusing Henry with the second William.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

The Later Correspondence of Lord John Russell, 1840-1878.

Edited by G. P. GOOCH. Two volumes. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1925. Pp. lvi, 361; 408. 32 s.)

The Early Correspondence of Lord John Russell, 1805-1840, appeared in 1913, but the death in 1914 of Rollo Russell, the editor, long postponed further publication. The present work, under the capable editorship of Mr. G. P. Gooch, completes the original plan. The correspondence here printed is, of necessity, but a selection presenting a running account of English foreign and domestic policy and politics in order to portray Russell's relations to them. For each group of letters, organized by topics, Mr. Gooch presents a brief, exact, and informative account of the political situation both at home and abroad. These summaries and the letters bring out the main feature of Russell's career, namely, his almost continuous importance in English history whether in office or out of it.

The work has then a very definite value and interest in Mr. Gooch's condensed historical tablets and much interest, but less value to historical knowledge, in the selected letters. There is little of the "gossip" or personal interest in them, though those between Russell and Palmerston, or from others in regard to Palmerston, tell something of the story of the long association, rivalry, divergencies of view, agreements and disagreements, which made the contemporary careers of the two men so vital in English political history. Both in his introduction and in his sum-

maries, Mr. Gooch lays stress on Russell's high standards and his courage in the readiness to assume responsibility—his "stout heart". He was not one to "doubt or look backward"; he had an "habitual self-confidence" and this Mr. Gooch believes to have been an asset to the nation in time of crisis. "At no period of his eventful career did the prestige of Lord John Russell stand higher than in the summer of 1848, when the country, under his guidance, emerged unscathed from the menace of anarchy."

The best period of Russell's career, thinks the editor, was his first prime ministership, 1846 to 1852. It "represents the culmination of his career", when at the age of fifty-four he could look back on thirty-three years of parliamentary life. Yet he was to have a still further lease of fifteen years of political life in which he played, at least in so far as Europe and America are concerned, a rôle of far-reaching importance. In Europe Russell was either a controlling factor or a very important one in determining British policy in the revolutionary wave of 1848, the first Schleswig-Holstein controversy, the preliminaries of the Crimean War, and the making of Italy. For this last the editor gives high praise to Russell's initiative, ideals, methods, and integrity. His resignation from Aberdeen's Cabinet at the crisis of the Crimean War, the most criticized act of Russell's career, is not presented, either by the editor or in the letters, in such way as to relieve Russell of odium, though Rollo Russell's defense of his father is printed as an appendix to volume II. Indeed Russell himself wrote in later years of that resignation as an error.

It is impossible, in a brief review, even to list, much less to comment on the incidents of Russell's career. The letters list them but are so scattered that there is no thorough portrayal. Those in volume II., covering the more modern period, present more of a narrative than in volume I. but still leave many gaps, especially in the personal relations with Palmerston, that one would like to have filled up. But to do this would have been contrary to the purpose and method of the editor. On American affairs there is relatively little. In the differences with the United States just previous to the Ashburton Treaty of 1842 Palmerston is shown to have been extremely belligerent, to the alarm of Russell and his friends, though Russell thought Ashburton to have made a "bad" treaty. British policy on Texas, interpreted by Guizot as one intended to prevent the expansion of the United States and to "preserve a balance" in the Americas, had apparently the full support for a time of that French statesman. For the American Civil War nothing new to our historical knowledge appears, except a letter, dated October 27, 1862, from Sir George Grey strongly objecting to Russell's plan of an offer of mediation, and Russell's irritated response, though he thanks Grey "for writing me a letter instead of printing a Memorandum". Incidentally the editor makes two errors here (in the reviewer's opinion) in attribut-

ing the initiative of the mediation plan to Palmerston and not to Russell, and in thinking that the Emancipation Proclamation of September, 1862, strengthened the hands of Russell's opponents in the Cabinet. The effect at the moment was exactly the reverse.

Such errors are few and the whole work is evidence of the care and judgment of both publishers and editor. While the letters may not attract by the more picturesque qualities of other published "selections", they do present Lord John Russell himself in his public life. And Mr. Gooch's masterly summaries are a contribution to historical literature.

E. D. ADAMS.

Les Grandes Questions Européennes et la Diplomatie des Puissances sous la Seconde République Française. By Vicomte de GUICHEN, Lauréat de l'Académie Française et de l'Institut. Tome I., Octobre, 1847, au 1^{er} Mai, 1850. (Paris: Attinger. 1925. Pp. xiii, 549. 36 fr.)

THE name of the Vicomte de Guichen is known to historians in America through the earlier volumes that he has written on the relations of post-revolutionary France to the important European questions of that time. This latest book is a continuation of the earlier works.

The present volume of 560 pages covers the period from October, 1847, to May, 1850. To those who are acquainted with this small section of the history of nineteenth-century Europe, the book will not appear disproportionately large. To no small extent, it was France that had set a bad example to Europe in February, 1848, and when the upheavals and revolutions of March and April had set in, it was on that country that most statesmen placed the blame. The story, as narrated by Monsieur de Guichen, is of compelling interest as one follows the efforts of France, first under Lamartine, and then under Louis Napoleon, to escape the punishment that the crowned heads of Europe would have inflicted upon her at the beginning. Fortune, the complications in Germany and Austria, and one man, appear to have saved her. If there is any hero in the first part of the book, he must be Alphonse de Lamartine, the poet-statesman, who knew so well just what soft word would calm an anxious Normanby, a suspicious Palmerston, and a Tsar who had always hated France.

The book opens with a very able description of the diplomatic position of Europe on the eve of the February Revolution. The uncertain condition of affairs in Switzerland and the unrest and rivalries in Italy are clearly described. In the case of the former country, the treatment is detailed and the information that it contains has never before appeared in a general work on European history. Even the discussion of the familiar Italian situation is not without its originality. New evidence is given tending to prove that in 1847 the Austrians were better acquainted with Italian affairs than was formerly believed. The latter

part of this chapter contains an amusing account of the policies of France and England in regard to Italy, that bears out the remark of Canitz, the Prussian ambassador: "l'Angleterre et la France faisaient un steeple-chase de popularité dans la péninsule italienne" (p. 35).

Chapter II. opens with Normanby's familiar prophesies of the February Revolution and an account of Lamartine's efforts to reassure Europe as to the intentions of new France. The success of Lamartine with England is almost immediate in spite of an interesting little *contretemps* when the zealous Irish embarrass the French minister with their overenthusiastic congratulations. This episode is not generally known and its inclusion in the story of Anglo-French relations in 1848 is a happy one. Again, it was Lamartine whose adroit phrases in regard to Poland won over an angry Tsar to a silent and less harmful nursing of his discontent. The discussion of the influence of February, 1848, is carefully and minutely related, but the mere mention of an "association démocratique allemande" at Paris, with no explanation as to the extent of its actions, other than the fact that it was preparing to attack the Grand-Duchy of Baden, is disappointing. It would seem that the existence of such a society at the heart of France, with so ambitious a programme, would merit at least a page of explanation or a reference. From the situation in Northern Germany came a further strain in Austro-Prussian relations. This situation was complicated even more by the revolts in Poland and Italy in both of which England, France, and Russia were deeply concerned. Amid such a choppy sea Lamartine must steer the frail bark of the Republic. It was a task requiring the utmost tact and skill, especially when the mutinies of the spring of 1848 compromised to a considerable degree the apt assurances of Lamartine the captain. Although she was sympathetic to the new movements beyond her frontiers, France was in no position to help them. Internal discords would have prevented any favorable action even if the danger of a coalition of European rulers against her had not existed. The author makes it clear that the old accusation that France encouraged the European nationalists and liberals, only to allow them to suffer, can not be accepted as a legitimate reproach to the French. France was in no condition to face all the armies of the Western and Central European governments.

By far the most interesting and valuable part of the book relates the story of the early Prussian policy in regard to Schleswig-Holstein. It is easy to forget how near to war Europe came over this question during the critical years 1848-1850. The detailed account given of this question by Monsieur de Guichen is of value to all students of the nineteenth century. The last sections treat of the Austrian Revolution, Hungary, Italy in 1849-1850, and the affairs in the region of the Danube.

In content, the book is excellent; in method, however, there is somewhat to be desired. The author has used letters and despatches from the archives of the ministries of foreign affairs in France, England, Belgium,

Sardinia, and Austria. He has combined and articulated his evidence well, but the inquisitive scholar will have faults to find with the use that is made of references. At times, only the words "Archives des Aff. étr." are used. There are often no dates, and in no instance have the folio numbers, call numbers, or catalogue notations been given. Again, there are passages from speeches or from published works to which no direct reference is made. On page 45, for example, Monsieur de Guichen quotes a striking passage from Hugo in regard to Italy, but the reader is not informed of the work from which these sentences have been taken. A reader who wished to go farther into the subject would not be aided by the references in the book.

To judge by the references, the greatest amount of evidence, perhaps too much of it, has been obtained from the papers in the Public Record Office in London.

JOHN M. S. ALLISON.

Bayern und die Bismarckische Reichsgründung. Von M. DOEBERL.
(Munich and Berlin: R. Oldenbourg. 1925. Pp. vi, 319.
Paper, 13.50 M; cloth, 15 M.)

BAVARIA'S share in the founding of the German Empire, the circumstances and motives that induced this greatest champion of state-rights and anti-Prussian feeling to join Prussia so promptly in the war of 1870, to agree, after struggles, to the union of South and North, and to take the formal initiative in offering the imperial crown to the Hohenzollerns—all this offers an interesting group of problems, upon which in the decade before the World War such scholars as Wilhelm Busch, A. von Ruville, Erich Brandenburg, Georg Künzel, and K. A. von Müller were busily engaged with the aid of such fragmentary sources as were then available. The opening up of the archives of the various German states since 1918 has at last made possible a completely new study of these problems. What Eugen Schneider recently did for Württemberg's policy in 1870 (*Württemberg. Vierteljahrshäfte für Landesgesch.*, N.F., XXIX.), has now been done on a larger scale for the greater neighboring state by one of the foremost masters of Bavarian history.

Professor Doeberl has used the records of the Staatsarchiv, Kriegsarchiv, and Hausarchiv of Munich; the Hauptarchiv des Auswärtigen Amtes at Berlin; the Haus- und Staatsarchive of Stuttgart and Karlsruhe, and various private papers. Over a hundred pages of documents are printed as appendixes, many of which are of capital importance for the subject.

The survey of Bavarian policy from July, 1870, to January, 1871, which is based on this broad foundation, is lucid, objective, and studiously fair to the champions both of German national unity and of Bavarian separatism. Its general result is to enhance one's respect for Bismarck's

wise and patient handling of the South Germans; to strip Ludwig II. of most of the merits with which the writings of Luise von Kobell or a reticence necessary down to 1918 had invested him; to rehabilitate Count Bray-Steinburg, the Bavarian prime minister of 1870; and to demolish that extraordinary series of daring hypotheses by which Ruville had sought to "clarify" the history of that period. That Bray had not compromised himself by traitorous intrigues with France and Austria; that the Cérçay papers contained no damning evidence to force the hand of the Bavarian government; that Ludwig II., in ordering mobilization on the morning of July 16, was not anticipating Bray's proposal; that Bavaria did not try to attach conditions to her entry into the war, although she later made half-hearted attempts to secure some territorial rewards for it; that the negotiations between Bray and Bismarck were not so bitter a struggle as has hitherto been believed; that the famous "Württemberg episode" in November, which so exasperated Bismarck, was due, after all, to the intrigues of the Bavarian envoy at Stuttgart; that King Ludwig's decision to propose the "shocking and terrible" *Kaiseridee* was wormed out of him by Bray's tenacious diplomacy—such are some examples of the conclusions to be gained from this book. On some questions, however, there is obviously need for further light: for instance, on Bismarck's project, in the spring of 1870, for restoring the imperial title; the origin and aims of the Holstein mission to Versailles; or the rewards other than territorial (pecuniary? a *pourboire* from the "Welfenfonds"?) which Ludwig II. attempted to extort from Bismarck in return for raising the *Kaiserfrage*.

R. H. LORD.

Politische Geschichte des Neuen Deutschen Kaiserreiches. Von JOHANNES ZIEKURSCH. Erster Band: *Die Reichsgründung.* (Frankfurt: Frankfurter Societäts Druckerei. 1925. Pp. 362. 10 M.)

THIS volume by the former rector of the University of Breslau is the first of a series of three books on the political history of the new German Empire covering its history from the accession of William I. in Prussia to the fall of the Empire in 1918. It covers the period from the beginnings of the solution of the German question to the peace of Frankfurt and is the first important attempt of a German Liberal to present a scholarly study of the tragedy of Bismarck's great work. The first volume has an excellent bibliography and is equipped with a subject index and an index of persons.

The first eight chapters are devoted to the development of Bismarck's Prussian and unification policies, to the Peace of Prague. The conflict with the Prussian Diet is treated extensively and the author stresses the revolutionary acts of Bismarck in the period of 1866. He emphasizes Treitschke's conviction, stated at the beginning of the conflict, that:

"The saddest thing is: only through a mass movement can a revolution succeed; our people however think about everything else but German unity." The author contrasts the policies of the Junkers with those of the Liberals and shows how Bismarck advanced along devious paths to victory. Had the Junker programme of 1861 been adopted by William I., the Prussian Diet would probably have forced his abdication and ended the rule of the Junkers which had endured since the death of Frederick the Great. At the close of the Danish War the great liberal von Bennigsen said: "In the north of Germany the Bismarck policy, that is the adoration of military power and diplomatic successes, is gaining the upper hand in a frightful manner." Especially interesting are the explanations of Professor Ziekursch concerning the foreign policies of Bismarck preceding the German War of 1866. To von Gerolt is given the credit for first informing Bismarck from Washington that at the close of the American Civil War the United States would turn against the indirect rule of Napoleon in Mexico. After all, Prussia owed her victory in 1866 to the principle of universal military service and to the national ideas which had developed on Prussian soil since the age of enlightenment.

The second part of Professor Ziekursch's volume deals with the transition period from the formation of the North German Confederation to the founding of the Empire. Roon is given full credit for the introduction in October, 1867, of universal military service in the new Prussian provinces as well as in the states of the Confederation. The author is at his best in the treatment of the internal developments between 1866 and 1871. The chapter on the outbreak of the Franco-German War is disappointing. In discussing Benedetti's last negotiations the author says: "At this moment Bismarck intervened and changed the defeat of his state and his dynasty into a victory through the Ems despatch."

Finally the author shows clearly that the Empire was not created by a great ruler nor by a nation in revolt against foreign domination, but by a statesman who with stratagem as well as titanic strength led an unwilling people through the fires of foreign and civil war to unity. Like the first Napoleon, Bismarck could leave no successor to guard his Empire. The Hohenzollerns, whom he had elevated to power, attempted to avoid the fate of the English Guelphs and suffered the fate of the Bourbons.

RALPH HASWELL LUTZ.

Labour and Nationalism in Ireland. By J. DUNSMORE CLARKSON, Ph.D. [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, CXX.] (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1925. Pp. 502. \$4.50.)

THE thesis which Dr. Clarkson has set himself in this book to prove appears to us not what his introductory chapter asserts it to be: that it is from "social oppression that the national aspirations of Ireland have

derived their motive power", but rather this: that Irish nationalism and the Irish labor movement have had in the past and have at present very little real or direct connection with one another. This latter point we think he has clearly demonstrated, and it is one regarding which many misunderstandings have arisen, since the peculiar circumstances of Ireland have given to her struggle for political freedom the, to a great extent fallacious, aspect of a class war.

As to his former statement, we should only be disposed to accept it if the term "social oppression" were so extended as to include all manner of actual grievances—religious, agrarian, political, and so forth. Thus understood, it becomes almost a truism.

Our author treats almost exclusively of the Irish urban labor movement. This, of course, means that he handles only a section of the history of labor in Ireland, a country in which the rural workers are of very great importance, both from their numbers and because, by their combinations, they first taught the town artisan how successfully to resist oppression.

This work is written from the standpoint of a convinced Socialist, and those who do not accept the socialistic gospel in its entirety will be slow to acquiesce in many of Dr. Clarkson's judgments and views. Still, even such persons will find his book, merely from the mass of positive information contained in it, well worth reading. It is certainly the most complete work that has yet appeared on the subject which it treats. The chapter on Early Irish Trade Unionism is especially valuable, although we can not but think that the author has sometimes done less than justice to the pioneers, those men who made possible the later work of his heroes James Connolly and James Larkin.

A considerable part of the book is taken up by quotation from speeches and writings of labor leaders and their opponents. The reader is thereby furnished with a minute history of the Irish urban labor movement, from its modest beginnings in the conservative past, to its wide extension and insistent claims at the present day.

The lights and shades of the picture presented to us are strongly marked. We hear only of the virtues and sufferings of the workers, and of the injustices inflicted on them by their employers. In the chapter on Belfast alone is there any question raised of faults on the other side. Thus, for example, in the account of the Dublin Metropolitan Workers' dispute, nothing is said of the scandals of slack work, unpunctuality, and so forth revealed by the inquiry.

The Nationalist leaders Parnell, Redmond, and especially Griffith, find small favor from Dr. Clarkson. The whole nationalist movement he seems to regard as rather a danger, since it tends to divert the minds and the activities of the workers from the great cause of socialism and to diminish their "class consciousness". To his mind, the passage of Ireland from British to native rule has merely given labor a change of

masters. Neither, he thinks, would its condition be much improved should the Free State develop into a republic of the type which the present Irish Republican Party seems to desire.

M. T. H.

Russia. By NICHOLAS MAKEEV and VALENTINE O'HARA. [The Modern World, edited by the Right Hon. H. A. L. Fisher, M.P.] (London: E. Benn; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1925. Pp. xii, 346. 15 s.)

IN his introduction the editor says:

To the understanding of this vast and complex Russian movement, this volume makes an important contribution. Since Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace published his famous book in 1887, I doubt whether any more substantial treatise on Russian affairs has been published in the English language. Of the authors, one is a Russian and the other a British subject long resident in the old Russian empire. Each has suffered imprisonment; M. Makeev at the hands of the Tsarist Government, Mr. O'Hara at the hands of the Bolsheviks. . . . M. Makeev joined the Social Revolutionary party in 1904.

The three hundred and twenty pages of text are divided as follows: fifty-seven cover the period from the beginning to the twentieth century, seventy-three from that time to the outbreak of the March Revolution, sixty-five the time of Kerenski, and one hundred and twenty-five the Soviet period. This division makes it clear that the work before us is not a history and there are other evidences to show that it is not written by men with historical training. They make numerous assertions without producing proof and give quotations without indicating authority. It is not a study of Russian life and institutions in the sense that Wallace's *Russia* is, and it is quite misleading to put the two books in the same class. The newer book is a journalistic interpretation of more recent Russian affairs by two well-informed and highly competent, but by no means impartial, observers. Regarded from this point of view the work is very well done. But as one turns its pages he finds himself taking issue with the authors on matters of opinion and becoming somewhat irritated by the false impressions likely to be created by generalizations. Kerenski and other Social Revolutionists are pictured as able and far-seeing, but the men to the right and left of this small group are not painted in very attractive colors. It is gossip, and nothing but gossip, that Nicholas II. "had recourse to the auguries and prescriptions of his soothsayers" (p. 103). It is rumor, and nothing but rumor, that in the Empress's "intimate circle, where Rasputin was the leading figure, every sort of political intrigue was schemed or unravelled. Although we have no ground to suppose . . . that treachery showed its head in the Court itself, there is no doubt whatsoever that it had harbor and refuge in *milieus* very near the Emperor . . . of the Empress's insistence on

separate peace, of her treachery in connection with Field Marshal Kitchener" (p. 126). Yet these gossips and rumors are presented in such a way as to give the impression that they are facts. "The chief cause of Nicholas II.'s downfall was the revulsion of feeling against the prolongation of the intolerable war" (p. 197). Perhaps, but it is not convincing. Miliukov and his policies are criticized: "This lack of political instinct and understanding was clearly reflected in the Cadet leader's obstinate championing of the constitutional monarchy as against the republican form of government when that question was already practically settled" (pp. 140-141). Who settled it, and when?

But Miliukov and his party, the ranks of which became filled in the course of 1917 with "monarchists, opportunists, who, frightened by the course of events, turned it into a very quagmire" (p. 141), get off comparatively well alongside the Bolshevik leaders. The Polish Jew Radek, the Bulgarian Rakovski, and the aesthete Lunacharski "devote all their energies to applying the Communist rule and method to others, but for themselves they prefer the full enjoyment of the advantages, nay, the luxuries, of bourgeois life in all its expressions" (p. 214). This is propaganda and is out of date. In their discussion of Soviet government and policies the authors make use of the best possible information and their statements are as trustworthy as such things can be at the present time. What the reviewer objects to is their unsympathetic interpretation of the facts and, what seems to him, the wrong impressions they convey. This is again a matter of opinion.

F. A. GOLDER.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Der Kampf Westeuropas um Nordamerika im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert. Von ADOLF REIN. (Stuttgart-Gotha: Perthes. 1925. Pp. xii, 292. Paper, 8 M.; cloth, 10 M.)

WORKS on modern colonization regularly emphasize what individual European nations have done. Those on world politics tend to stress the economic feature in the relationships established. The larger aspects of the process by which the world has become Europeanized and Europe's own conditions have been molded by influences born outside its bounds, are yet to be evaluated.

In some degree these considerations furnish a background for the study by Dr. Rein of international politics during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The nations involved are those of western Europe which competed for the possession of most of North America. An understanding of the rivalry thus engendered he deems indispensable for a correct appreciation of the subsequent history of the United States in which, as his earlier works show, he has an especial interest. What prompted him to write the present book appears to have been the collec-

tion of European treaties edited by Miss Davenport. Through an oversight, he does not mention the title of the compilation; but his frequent allusions to the name of the editor reveal his indebtedness to her, just as they afford him occasionally a chance to criticize her handiwork.

In his preface and introductory chapter Dr. Rein expatiates upon the reasons why the states of western Europe entered overseas and Russia overland upon the course of expansion in general. Basically, he regards their action as a continuation, amid changes of scene and under different circumstances, of the age-long struggle for supremacy between the Orient and the Occident. Though he nowhere uses the term, he might have called the movement "The New Crusades". The background that he sketches, however, is so huge that it dwarfs somewhat the proportions of the picture proper, to the drawing of which the bulk of the book is devoted. This concerns itself with a reconsideration of the demarcation line, a discussion of Newfoundland as a "free territory", an examination of legal ideas relative to the freedom of the seas, a descriptive estimate of the attempts of the French at the colonization of Canada and Florida, and a survey of the international issues arising in these connections between France and Spain, and in a measure, England. An appendix contains a series of historical and explanatory notes on the origin of the bulls of Alexander VI., the 100-mile line, the demarcation line itself, the voyages of Cartier, and the search for a northwest passage.

Of these topics the treatment evinces careful research and mature thought. The details, nevertheless, yield comparatively little that is new to students of the subject. Some of the information, like that about de Gourgue (*sic*), is wholly antiquated, or else repetitious of familiar facts about colonization. Statements also are made which, in the absence of adequately supporting evidence, could be challenged. To assimilate the Monroe Doctrine in any fashion to the treaty of Tordesillas (p. 114) seems a bit fantastic. That conditions in Germany are more or less unfavorable to an investigator of the theme does not extenuate all possible defects.

The chief merits of the book lie in its characterization of the general movement of expansion and in its concentration upon those phases of international relationship which were created by enterprise in North America. The one, emanating from a European historian, is more of a novelty perhaps than it would be in the United States among the members of the craft to which he belongs. The other performs a useful service through helping to clarify a situation too little known: the significance of regions and peoples overseas for international issues reputed to have been the outcome of circumstances peculiar to western Europe itself.

WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD.

Records of the Moravians in North Carolina. Edited by ADELAIDE L. FRIES, M.A., Archivist of the Moravian Church in America, Southern Province. Volume II., 1752-1775. [Publications of the North Carolina Historical Commission.] (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton Printing Company. 1925. Pp. viii, 515-973.)

THIS is a collection of varied materials from the Moravian archives of North Carolina, supplementary to the volume published by the same editor in 1922. Though one misses the continuity of an historical narrative, which was aimed at in the first publication, the historical materials grouped together here are no less valuable. The editor has been forced more frequently to furnish explanatory pages and to contribute the results of investigations, as in part II., the examination of the colonial currency of North Carolina, the search for the Wright and the Richmond court houses, where the legal business of Surry County was transacted from 1771 to 1798. The discovery in the Salem archives of the Bagge papers, wrapped in a newspaper of 1775, is a matter for congratulation. Traugott Bagge, the mercantile leader of the colony, in charge of the store at Salem, prepared a sketch of those events of the Revolutionary War which bear on Wachovia, to the end of 1779. Only the introductory portion is here printed, stimulating a desire for more. A photograph illustrating Bagge's wonderfully clear German handwriting exhibits a passage referring to the activities in Mecklenburg County, to wit: (translation) "At the close of the 1775th year I cannot omit to mention that already in the summer of this year, in May, June, or July, the County Mecklenburg, in North Carolina, declared itself free and independent of England, and made such arrangements for the administration of the laws among them as the Continental Congress later made for the whole country. Congress, however, considered this proceeding premature."

Part I. of the present volume contains a number of "Beilagen", or additional papers, 1752-1771, among which are reports and letters of Bishop Spangenberg, and of F. W. Marshall, North Carolina representative of the Unity of Brethren, also the Diary of J. J. Fries, 1754, and a most curious and fascinating account of the topography, flora, and fauna of Wachovia. Among the "Gemein Nachrichten" there is an account of the death and funeral of Count Zinzendorf, and of his wife Anna Nitschmann. We hear of the coming of Moravian groups from Broad Bay (Waldoborough), Maine, and their settlement in Friedberg and Friedland in Wachovia. The building of Salem, as the capital and trading centre, was the large undertaking at this period. "I verily believe", writes Marshall, "that the rich city of London could not do that which we must accomplish—move the entire town and its business to another place." Bethabara and Bethania were to remain farming communities, but these preserved a distinct individuality; quoting Brother Marshall again:

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Although Bethabara and Bethania lie close together, there is as great a difference in their methods as if they were far apart. Bethania does things as they come, Bethabara plans. Bethania has almost no money; in Bethabara all accounts are in cash. In Bethania the office of Saal Diener is held in turn by the members, and the Diener furnishes the candles, and whatever else is necessary. Materials for the Lovefeast and Communions are also furnished by the members in turn; only once during the year is there a small collection for congregation expenses (p. 618).

Part III. continues the records of the Moravians from 1772 to 1775, Memorabilia, Diaries, Minute-Books, from each of their colonies, Salem now furnishing the bulk of the materials, with constant reference to the larger affairs of the colony of North Carolina as a whole. A vivid picture is given of the gradual gathering of the storm-clouds and the danger from suspicion involving the peace-loving Moravians. During the struggle of the "Regulators" against the English governor, they sympathized with the latter. Subsequently, as events led Carolina and the other English colonies into a struggle for independence, the Moravians remained true to their principle of non-resistance, at the same time proving faithful to their neighbors by furnishing large supplies for the Continental army. In the meantime they found it possible to live under the slogan of 1775: "Be loyal to the King, and oppose his Government, for his ministers are proving their disloyalty by seeking to oppress his loyal American subjects."

Volume II. is ornamented with well-chosen portraits, numerous helpful maps, and interesting facsimiles of manuscripts.

A. B. FAUST.

Reminiscences of an American Loyalist, 1738-1789: being the Autobiography of the Reverend Jonathan Boucher. Edited by JONATHAN BOUCHIER. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1925. Pp. xi, 201.)

THE publication of this vital human document in America is another symptom of the current reaction against the extreme nationalism of the nineteenth-century American historical literature.

Jonathan Boucher (1738-1804) came of a yeoman family of Cumberland, in the north of England. His father kept a village ale-house and his mother was the daughter of a weaver, but between them they managed to bring up "four children, two of whom they lived to see in Orders in the Church of England". Jonathan secured a precarious local education, which qualified him to practise as a land surveyor and, later, to be employed as usher in a clergyman's private school. Thence, in 1759, as he came of age, he set sail for America, under contract to serve "as private tutor to a gentleman's sons in Virginia".

The household in which he found himself disappointed the expectation raised by that sanctified phrase, for it was that of a retired sea-captain

"with sea manners, . . . much resorted to, but chiefly by toddy drinking company". The site was Port Royal, on the Rappahannock River, a village "inhabited in a great measure by factors from Scotland and their dependents, and the circumjacent country by planters, in general in middling circumstances"; to which description Boucher adds the comment, significant when read with his later raptures in the society of Annapolis, that "there was not a literary man for aught I could find nearer than the country I had just left".

Boucher hoped to establish himself in Virginia as a merchant, but, after losses due to his inexperience in business, set up a private school. Several years later (1762) he was offered the cure of Hanover parish, which lay across the Rappahannock from Port Royal, and, after a voyage to England for ordination, commenced parson, and, incidentally, "resumed my former employment and soon had half a dozen boys boarded in my house". Later, he accepted a call to St. Mary's parish, in Caroline County, and so, again crossing the Rappahannock, prospered steadily in the growth of his school. A tradition that he commended himself to parents and guardians by wielding the heaviest rod ever known in Virginia has come direct to the present reviewer from one who had felt the weight of that rod. At all events, with the aid of two native Virginia worthies as ushers, "a Mr. Lewis, the son of a respectable gentleman in Augusta County, and, after him, a Mr. Maddison, who was pert and petulant, but who has since become the President of William and Mary College", Boucher "increased my number of boys to nearly thirty, most of them the sons of persons of the first condition in the colony"; including "the son-in-law of the since so celebrated General Washington", of whom he records a character which was published years ago in *Notes and Queries*. These contacts furnished him also "with a scope for many remarks" on the Virginia gentry, which are not the least racy passages in a racy book. For example, "every Fitzhugh has bad eyes; every Thornton hears badly; Winslows and Lees talk well; Carters are proud and imperious". Randolphs, Carys, Grimes, Taliaferros, and Fowlkes are also brought upon the stage.

Had Boucher remained in Virginia, his nascent association with Washington, the Lees, and Landon Carter must have developed, and, conceivably, he might have become a pillar of the American Revolution; for, tough as was the fibre of his mind, he was an eighteenth-century Englishman of middle-class extraction, and took color from the ruling caste among which he found himself; but his destiny was determined by another clerical call—this time to Annapolis in Maryland. Here he flowered in a stimulating intellectual society such as he had never before known. Annapolis he characterized unctuously as "then the genteel town in North America and many of its inhabitants were highly respectable as to station, fortune, and education . . . the most eminent lawyers, physicians, and families of opulence and note". He immediately formed what it pleased him to consider an intimacy with the governor,

Sir Robert Eden, fascinated by the easy and brilliant manners of that high gentleman; with the consequence that Eden adroitly enlisted Boucher's lashing tongue and trenchant pen in the debates he was then carrying on with "the two chief demagogues, Messrs. Chase and Paca". Thus were Boucher's politics crystallized. As every specialist in the literature of the Revolution knows, he proved a powerful debater of Loyalist opinion; so outspoken and fearless, indeed, that in 1775 the Maryland Committee of Safety sought to exclude him from his pulpit by force, and succeeded in driving him from the colony.

The remainder of Boucher's life-story has the quality of a novel of Defoe in its pictures of eighteenth-century English manners. Deprived of all his property in America, at forty he began life over again as a schoolmaster in London, and, by a series of fortuities (in the discussion of which he mercilessly reveals his own coarse and vigorous appetites), once more he prospered, being eventually preferred to the rich living of Epsom in Surrey. There he accumulated a great library and a sound fortune, and there he died after having recorded these memoirs, which no student of the history of Virginia and Maryland in the troubled years before "the '76" can afford to neglect.

España ante la Independencia de los Estados Unidos. Por Dr. JUAN F. YELA UTRILLA. Two volumes. Second edition. (Lérida, Spain: Gráficos Academia Mariana. 1925. Pp. xi, 495; xii, 397, 7. 24 ptas.)

THIS work is a thesis for the degree of doctor of philosophy at the University of Madrid. It was first printed, in a very limited edition, apparently to satisfy the requirements of the university, in 1922. In 1925 a second edition of 1000 copies with some elaboration of notes, on flimsy news-print paper, was struck off. When the two volumes become better known it is certain that another printing will need to be made. Let us hope it will be on a better quality of paper.

To point out, as we shall have to do, that the work has certain limitations, is not to dismiss it lightly. It can not be overlooked by any serious student of the American Revolution. It is the most important contribution which has ever appeared in Spain on the subject of early Spanish-American international relations. For a doctoral thesis it is of unusual merit and reflects great credit both upon the university which sponsored it and on the able author. Its prime importance to the student of early American diplomacy is that Doctor Yela provides the long-desired and much-needed supplement to Henri Doniol's *Histoire de la Participation de la France à l'Établissement des États-Unis d'Amérique*. With the Spanish documents now before us we must conclude that, while they do not blur the larger outlines of Doniol's description of Franco-Spanish relations and of Spanish policy toward the United States during the American Revolution, they nevertheless throw much new light on its

details. The correspondence of the astute Spanish ambassador at Paris, the Count of Aranda, with the foreign ministers Grimaldi and Floridablanca reveals the vacillations and fluctuations of French policy in a way which is not to be learned from Doniol's account, based wholly on French documents. Doctor Yela has shown, in his numerous critical foot-notes, that we shall have to revise very considerably many of Doniol's statements in regard to Spain. The documents relating to the peace negotiations of 1782-1783 contain important new material on Spanish policy in the Mississippi Valley, and the relation of France, particularly of Vergennes, to it.

The first volume contains the narrative. A second volume prints the relevant documents. One-half of these consists of the despatches and instructions to and from Aranda and his foreign office. Much of the French correspondence is also given, reprinted from Doniol, to whom the author makes appropriate acknowledgments. The documents which are set forth at length regarding the mission of John Jay to Madrid, 1780-1782, have been previously printed, except for insignificant exceptions, in Francis Wharton's familiar *Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States*. The author does not know of Wharton, though he does indicate that some of these have been printed in Jared Sparks's earlier, and as we know less authoritative and complete, edition. Nevertheless it is helpful to have all these pieces assembled here in handy form, as a supplement to the Spanish ones now printed for the first time. The documents are reproduced in their original language, Spanish, French, and English, and apparently great care is taken to ensure their accurate rendition.

Doctor Yela good-naturedly accuses American scholars of not having paid enough attention to Spain's assistance in helping the United States win its independence. He suggests that, as a nation, historical scholars as well as people, we have been ungrateful and do not like to think about it. The lack of mention of the matter by American scholars, he says, is not because there is not a sufficiently copious supply of transcripts of Spanish archival material now available in the United States. This statement, among other things, exhibits Doctor Yela's lack of familiarity with recent historical scholarship in the United States. Without debating at this time the main point of gratitude, it is the duty of the reviewer to point out that one George Bancroft had much to say about Spain and the American Revolution in volume V. of the final edition of his *History of the United States*, and that he based it on a study of Spanish archives. Passing over other important standard American works—we will not dwell on Channing's short but perspicuous account—in which Spain's part in that great event is set forth, it is enough to mention the two more recent enlightening studies: P. C. Phillips's *The West in the Diplomacy of the American Revolution* (1913), and E. S. Corwin's *French Policy and the American Alliance* (1916). Corwin,

particularly, used the Spanish transcripts made by both Bancroft and Sparks. Far more complete than Yela's collection of documents relating to the Jay mission is that printed by Wharton, which gives Jay's complete correspondence with the Congress. None of this is known to Doctor Yela. Nor are the *Journals of the Continental Congress*. Nor are the familiar works of any of the American statesmen of the period.

The very great value of this work is that it presents a readable and studious narrative from the Spanish point of view and from the Spanish archives at Madrid, Simancas, and Seville, as well as from Doniol's French documents, and that it prints the more important of the Spanish documents. That is enough to justify the work abundantly and to win for it much praise. With all its limitations—it says nothing, for example, about the obscurely-known Cumberland separate peace intrigue of Great Britain with Spain—American students and historians must be grateful for it. We now have Doniol, and the French documents. In the B. F. Stevens *Facsimiles and Transcripts* we have a large store of British and other documents. We have careful studies of Dutch-and-American diplomacy at the same time. At least one study, based on Russian archives, is in preparation on Russia and the American Revolution. Fauchille has given us his brilliant study of the history of the Armed Neutrality of 1780. Wharton's fine collection gives us the American correspondence, and is supplemented by other collections and monographs. The time has come when the diplomacy of the American Revolution can be written with some degree of finality. Towards making this possible Doctor Yela has done his bit.

SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS.

The Diplomatic Relations of Great Britain and the United States.

By R. B. MOWAT, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, Acting Professor of History in the University of Wisconsin, 1925-1926. (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1925. Pp. xi, 350. \$5.50.)

THIS work is of varying quality. If intended for the general reader it has interest because of the author's skill in making diplomatic controversy entertaining, in presenting broad lines of policy, and especially in personal characterization of men active in diplomacy in both countries. If, however, the work is intended to be used as a text-book it has many defects, which, in spite of praiseworthy urbanity and fairness, render it of doubtful value. The author is not sufficiently grounded in American history and diplomacy to escape misunderstandings and consequent misstatements; his generalizations are striking but often incorrect; there are errors of fact; he is frequently careless in description, and at times fails to grasp what seemed to America the important incidents of diplomatic relations with Great Britain. Yet there are exceptions, for on a few topics it is clear that the author has done con-

siderable research and the results are presented with care. In substance, save for these special topics, the work must be classed as a well-written, pleasantly but carelessly told, story of general events with little evidence of thorough study. The foot-notes and references show (and the text indicates) a wide reading of larger historical works, both English and American, but small examination of monographic material. Considerable use has been made of memoirs, occasional use of Parliamentary papers and Foreign Office archives, hardly any use of United States printed documents. The period covered is from 1783 to 1917.

Some illustrations of the preceding criticisms are required. The first pages are given to a very useful comparative chronological chart of presidents, secretaries of state, ministers to Great Britain, prime ministers, foreign secretaries, and ministers to the United States. But in a generalization on American foreign policy it is emphasized that America "has been greatly helped by continuity of management . . . if the President does well, he is almost certain to be elected for a second term of four years . . . his Secretary of State usually holds office for four or eight years". Less than half our presidents have been elected for a second term, and the author's own chart shows forty-two secretaries of state for twenty-eight presidents or acting presidents. The chart shows indeed but thirty-eight British foreign secretaries and of these thirteen are repetitions reducing the number to twenty-five. In "continuity of management" certainly Great Britain had the advantage over America—not the reverse. But if the author means "continuity of policy", that is another matter. The first seven chapters, through the Monroe Doctrine, are on the whole good. But even in this earlier period there are carelessnesses or misunderstandings. Henry Clay, to be sure, was by birth "one of the great Virginians", but never to mention him in relation to Kentucky leaves an erroneous impression. That America, after the Peace Treaty of 1783, "soon became protectionist; and every generation she becomes so increasingly" (p. 19) is one of those striking generalizations that are not historically true. The policy of American neutrality is described as beginning with the wars of the French Revolution. Its first administrative decision came earlier, with the Nootka Sound question. The causes of the War of 1812 are described wholly in terms of neutral trade conflicts and impressment of seamen. There is no hint of nationalistic psychology in America, of the influence of the West, or of politics. The war "made an end also of the period of bad feeling" and "After 1814 the official relations of the Foreign Office and the State Department were usually smooth and reasonably friendly". "After 1814 there was a succession of capable ministers" on both sides, and Bagot, Stratford Canning, Vaughan, and Lyons are named for the British, while J. Q. Adams, Rush, Buchanan, and C. F. Adams are the Americans selected (p. 69). "Succession" implies that the men followed each other, a misleading generalization. Also in the period covered, 1814-1865, there were eleven

American ministers to Great Britain and six British to the United States other than those mentioned. If the emphasis is on "capable" why omit Edward Everett, George Bancroft, or Abbott Lawrence of the Americans, or Pakenham of the British? Diplomatic relations did not always run so easily as the author would have us think, as witness the experiences of Andrew Stevenson at London, or of Crampton at Washington.

But these are mostly irritating, flashy generalizations in a period otherwise fairly well treated. When, however, the author concludes his discussion of the Monroe Doctrine he falls into a period for which he shows little study or understanding, the period from 1825 to 1860. To say that the "abortive" Panama Congress of 1826 was "almost the only thing of interest in the foreign affairs of President Adams" (p. 96) is a strange misconception. British navigation laws and Adams's attempt to break them down by a "policy of retaliation" seemed to Adams himself almost a second War of Independence, but the author condenses the quarrel on West Indian trade to a page and a half, and ignores its basic economic consequences to both nations. The Canadian Rebellion of 1837 did not accentuate the boundary controversy between Maine and New Brunswick (p. 110), rather it temporarily quieted it. When General Scott was sent, *later*, in 1839, at the time of the "Aroostook War", he did not provide for the "joint occupation" of the Aroostook valley (p. 112); he arranged that Maine should exercise jurisdiction in the Aroostook, and New Brunswick in Madawaska (far removed) until diplomacy should fix a boundary. The author makes no mention of Madawaska. In the discussion of the Ashburton Treaty of 1842 (misstated on p. 80 as 1846) there is no mention of the eighth article on "joint-cruising" by which it was hoped to get rid of the troubles on "right of search, or visit", in relation to the African slave-trade and "right of search" is seemingly regarded as wholly related to "impressment", a dead issue. But the author's treatment of this whole period is decidedly "sketchy"; but five pages are given to "Texas and Mexico", and but seven to "Mexico and California". Yet here was a really critical period in British-American relations on which much has been written by American historians, some of whom are cited in foot-notes, but whose works can not have been read with understanding. It was a period when *policies*, not merely irritating incidents, threatened a definite clash. British policy when Texas declared independence is pictured as hurrying to urge on Mexico a recognition of that independence, so that European states might also promptly recognize it and thus "the United States would also have to recognize the new republic, and the possibility or probability of the Americans annexing Texas would practically be ruled out" (p. 119). But American recognition of Texas was the *first* to be given, in 1837; if the wording were "The United States would also have to *respect*", then the analysis of British policy might apply to a *later* date, say 1840. But there are other strange misconceptions of the Texan question, as when in describing

Elliot's efforts in Texas it is stated "without a doubt if the British Government would have consented to undertake some sort of intervention along with the French Government and the United States, the Texans would readily have consented to abolish slavery" (p. 120), as if any United States President would then have dared any step of "joint intervention" with European powers, or for the purpose indicated. Indeed, the author contradicts himself on the next page by writing: "The Texans, however, were not really ready for the abolition of slavery" (p. 121).

There are many minor errors. Here are a few noted, in a rapid reading, in some thirty pages: Forbes, British "agent at San Francisco" (p. 130; he was at Monterey). Fremont "raised the American flag over his camp near Monterey in January, 1846. He went down later towards Sonoma" (p. 131; the date and the geography are both wrong). Polk's tariff measure was passed in 1846, not "1847" (p. 140). Robert Tombs (p. 158, Toombs). On the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, Pierce and Marcy are stated to have been in favor of it but the Senate "was Democratic, and therefore against the policy of the Administration" (p. 159). And there is not a hint of Canadian pressure put on England, nor indeed of any Canadian interest in reciprocity except to note that Canada had a representative in the negotiations at Washington. The only source cited is Laurence Oliphant's amusing account.

The excellences of the work are in the general survey of the earlier period, 1783 to 1823, and in two chapters in which are shown genuine study and careful conclusions; these are the chapter on the *Alabama* claims, and that on the Venezuela controversy. And in spite of criticisms made and errors indicated, rendering the work untrustworthy as a text, the reviewer can not but feel that this first effort by a British writer to survey the whole field of British-American diplomatic relations is commendable as indicating a present British tendency in diplomatic study. Also the *tone* of the author, his desire to be fair and impartial, his refraining from arguing the case from a national viewpoint, merit the highest praise.

E. D. ADAMS.

Life and Letters of Thomas Jefferson. By FRANCIS W. HIRST.
(New York: Macmillan Company. 1926. Pp. xviii, 588.
\$6.00.)

MR. HIRST is an Englishman and he says his book is the first life of Jefferson by an Englishman. He has written for the purpose of setting his countrymen right on the subject of his hero. He sets forth a vigorous defense. No one could do it with greater enthusiasm and decision. What made him think that Jefferson needed a defense was Oliver's *Alexander Hamilton*. In consequence, he lays about him with energy and off go the heads of Oliver and others who have criticized Jefferson. Oliver's essay,

so far as it relates to Jefferson, is a "caricature", a "travesty", a "queer assortment of contradictory epithets, an impossible mosaic of black and white" (p. xvi). He trusts that whatever else his own book may achieve, "it will at least relegate Mr. Oliver's account of Jefferson to the realm of fiction" (p. xviii).

The author writes a strong chapter (forty pages) on Jefferson as "Governor of Virginia June, 1779, to June, 1781". All the facts favorable to Jefferson are marshalled in impressive array. The author gets a chance here to cudgel another historian who in his able *Revolution in Virginia* has presented forcefully the traditional opinion of Jefferson as a weak administrator. Mr. Hirst retaliates: "The bare possibility that Jefferson was a highly competent administrator and that the disasters suffered by Virginia were not due to him; or that Washington, Kosciuszko, Lafayette, and the other soldiers who knew him as governor may have more justly estimated Jefferson's services, wisdom, and energy than Dr. Eckenrode, has not occurred to that worthy gentleman" (p. 173).

In the Quarrel with Alexander Hamilton, Hamilton appears as a man who was "vivacious, eloquent, pushful, Napoleonic in aims and methods, with French morals and English politics" (p. 264).

John Marshall is brusquely shoved into his place as a "Federalist politician, who hated the French Revolution" and "showed his detestation of the Republican party by representing their principles as hypocrisies, or extravagances" (pp. 266-267).

Only sixty pages out of 578 are devoted to the two administrations of Jefferson. In particular the Embargo policy is presented (p. 441) as in Jefferson's eyes "an experiment and a trial of national endurance" which would have accomplished its purpose if left alone. In Mr. Hirst's opinion "Jefferson's statesmanship never shone brighter than in these dark and difficult days of the embargo policy, for which he has been so often and so unjustly assailed" (pp. 443-444).

More than the usual attention is given to Jefferson as a man of letters and a scientist. As geographer, geologist, botanist, ethnologist, zoologist, linguist, inventor, man of intellectual and artistic genius, companion and correspondent of men with all variety of attainments, Jefferson is revealed with all his charm. His friendship for Wythe, Madison, Monroe, Nicholas, and his devotion to his family appear in their proper fascination. The effective labor with which the beauties of Monticello were wrought out, the University of Virginia established and its outstanding architecture brought into being loses nothing in their description in this biography. And the pathos of Jefferson's later-day poverty, forcing the sale of his library to Congress for a niggardly sum, petitioning the legislature of Virginia for the privilege of selling property at lottery, and receiving funds raised by public subscription, are painted again with sympathy and restraint.

Mr. Hirst seems to have relied largely on Randall's *Jefferson* and the Memorial Edition of the *Writings of Jefferson*, though he has evidently consulted various works and monographs. There is little evidence that he has spent much time in manuscript sources. The material which he has used has been well digested and analyzed and his narration has been attractively phrased. There are few foot-notes, no bibliography, and only meagre references in the text. Something is gained by throwing aside such baggage, but, in the reviewer's opinion, something is likewise lost to the careful reader who would be glad at times to check up quotations and statements. A few errors occur—of the kind that a writer not a native would be likely to make but insufficient to mar seriously the work.

The first biography of Jefferson by an Englishman sets a good example for other Englishmen to follow—and leads us to ask, is it not about time for an adequate life of Jefferson by an American?

DICE R. ANDERSON.

Aaron Burr, a Biography compiled from Rare and in many Cases Unpublished Sources. By SAMUEL H. WANDELL and MEADE MINNIGERODE. Two volumes. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1925. Pp. xxxiv, 324; ix, 354. \$10.00.)

THE bookmen assure us that this is an age of biography, that scarcely anything is now so merchantable as lives and memoirs. Perhaps this is due to some new recognition of the personal factor in group life, a reaction from the "scientific" history which found value in the human deed only as it built toward some broad generalization about the human family; perhaps it reflects a new curiosity as to subconscious complexes and the like; perhaps it merely means the recurrent inning of an old truth that a man is more interesting than a movement, an institution, or an idea. But it is difficult, apparently, for a biographer to write biography. Even when he is not seeking to prove some theory of psychology or politics or life in general, when he is not presenting the history of a time with occasional reluctant reference to his man, in other words when he sticks to his subject, he is apt to write in the spirit of a criminal lawyer, usually for the defense. So the reader does well to warn himself when he picks up a life-story, especially if it deals with one so long the theme of controversy as Aaron Burr.

The two volumes which form the latest and most notable contribution to the literature on Burr give a straightaway account, though there are many analytical passages which might stand as acceptable psychographs of the Sainte Beuve-Bradford school. An element of novelty is found in the literary partnership which produces the book. It seems to imitate the British legal practice; apparently, if we may speak in general terms, Mr. Wandell is the solicitor, who has laboriously gathered the facts, and Mr. Minnigerode the barrister, who effectively presents them. Because

Mr. Minnigerode is better known to the reading public and because the literary style is so strikingly characteristic, we keep him in mind, perhaps, as we follow through the pages, rather more exclusively than we should. He is a master of the atmospheric phrase-quotation fitted neatly into his own sentence; he quotes not paragraphs but half-lines, giving us only the best, an economy which the reader warmly appreciates, albeit it may wrench some quaint expressions unfairly from their context. His paraphrases are so vivid and his descriptions of setting so richly furnished that the book seems to have the authenticity of a contemporary witness. It is written in high good humor, often sardonic, often romping and frolicsome, and sometimes a little flippant (II. 74); yet few American biographies have been more dramatic, or, indeed, more eloquent. One reason why the writing rather than the research engrosses attention is found in the absence of foot-notes, a lack which the reader who desires to weigh the authors' contribution often finds quite irritating.

Mr. Wandell (if our conjecture as to division be correct) has deepened our understanding of Burr by adding many new facts about his early life and its environment, as in the picture of the mother, the cheerful Esther Edwards, and her talented husband, the president of the College of New Jersey, who electrified devout and pious congregations from many a pulpit ("The Reverend Aaron Burr was in fact a best seller"). One learns for the first time of young Burr's ill-starred elopement, the circumstances of his leaving Arnold's army, more creditable than had been supposed, the true story of his marriage with Mrs. Prevost, and his responsibility for the Jedidiah Peck affair which made the Sedition Law so unpopular in New York state. There are interesting new claims for him: he was the first to organize military intelligence service as distinct from individual volunteer espionage, and possibly the originator, too, of local military constabulary. New light is thrown now and then on matters of general history, as in Hamilton's hitherto unpublished letter to Carroll of the Maryland legislature in 1800.

The account of Burr in the electoral contest of 1801 is an example of effective argument, but perhaps a little too generous. "Had Burr done anything for himself", wrote Congressman Bayard, "he would long ere this have been president." He committed no sin, it is true, but he left undone that which he ought to have done; a fine sense of honor would have directed an open disavowal of his intriguing friends and a frank acceptance of Jefferson on the voters' choice. Of course the relations between Burr and Hamilton are minutely traced from their first clash over the senatorship in 1791—"Mr." Hamilton and "Colonel" Burr, the authors insist on calling them, as if to imply that one was a real military man and the other was not. As biographers of Burr, the authors manage to throw "Sandy" Hamilton into a rather less agreeable light than he usually enjoys, but they have too good a sense of balance to meet the unpleasant expectations of detraction raised by Mr.

McCaleb's introduction to the volumes, where the reader is informed that "The dwarfed figure of Hamilton has been stretched until the canvas has been cracked and torn". The treatment of the state campaign of 1804 is admirable, especially the war of pamphlets, those masterpieces in the art of insult. It is regrettable that no new matter has come to light which might clarify Burr's relations with the New England conspirators; use of C. R. Brown's *Northern Confederacy* would have helped this chapter.

The subject of much pamphlet controversy though he was, Burr took no part in it himself. Perhaps this was unfortunate; perhaps his reputation was permanently injured by attacks he might have answered. "Calumny and defamation of a rival", say the authors, "were so foreign to his habits, that he was not able to appreciate their perilous vitality" (I. 249). "I leave to my actions to speak for themselves, and to my character to confound the fictions of slander" (I. 180). Though he undoubtedly loved to puzzle people and throughout his life delighted in mystery for its own sake, nevertheless the results of his policy of abstention from all self-defense would hardly please him if he could read the American histories of the last hundred years. The trouble is that his actions were ambiguous. "He left one dubious, apprehensive, skeptical; one remembered things afterwards; one could never be quite sure" (I. 182).

The authors devote two-thirds of their second volume to the alleged conspiracy in the West, and are doubtless correct in their judgment that no one proved that he was a traitor, but neither they nor any one else has made out a certain case that he was not. He showed a quite Napoleonic disregard for truth: he lied to the English minister when he told him that his purpose was to dismember the Union with England's help; or he lied to the Spanish minister when he sent word that he was willing to sell his services to Spain; or he lied to Andrew Jackson when he assured him that his sole purpose, unless there came a war, was to settle some land in the Arkansas region; or he lied to others when he told them he proposed only to invade Mexico (II. 33, 38, 54, 155). The authors cite Jefferson and others as believing in 1803 that it might possibly be best for the West to secede, that secession itself was no crime; and they offer this as a justification for Burr. But Jefferson meant peaceful secession, and Burr talked of arming and drilling men. Treason was not proved in 1805, "but in 1810", the authors candidly observe, when describing the exile in France, "it is incontestable that Colonel Burr was on paper, at least, meditating treason. Louisiana, an American territory, was to be invaded and seized by foreign troops, aided by a force of malcontents organized by himself in the Floridas. This was treason. And one may not evade the fact that his willingness to commit treason in 1810 jeopardizes the whole structure of his innocence in those earlier years" (II. 265).

Mr. F. S. Oliver in his *Alexander Hamilton* used a telling figure in describing the political philosophy of three conspicuous Americans: he remarked that Hamilton was for the hive, Jefferson was for the bee, and Burr was for the honey. Competent and useful in the public service though he undoubtedly was, he seems to have had no other object than applause and personal advancement. Give him a flattering responsibility—these volumes show—make him the youngest regimental commander in the army, or make him Vice-President of the United States, and he discharged his duties with diligence and dignity and great ability. But it was his vanity which was touched, not his loyalty; one wonders if he ever knew the personal subordination involved in the latter sentiment. He had a mania for grandeur. He had clear-cut personal theories as to education and he applied them with appalling vigor to his wife, his daughter, and his baby grandson, all of whom he seemed to regard as extensions of himself; he had no interest in the education of everybody's children, such as Jefferson and De Witt Clinton so honestly felt. He had a mania for control. He was generally in "shallow financial waters", as he put it, because he gave away, with a gesture, any amount of property he chanced to have, including that of Madame Jumel during her short but ruinous incumbency as Madam Burr. He had a mania for prodigality. These are not the expansive phrases of hyperbole; the authors soberly advance as the most plausible explanation of the colonel's vagaries that he was mentally insecure from the start. But the evidences for such an interpretation accumulate more rapidly during his sojourn in Europe; "if the door guarding his sanity had ever been the least ajar, then was the time, perhaps, for it to swing slowly open" (II. 269). There was insanity in the ancestry and the theory has much circumstantial support. It is the most charitable judgment on the tragic life of Aaron Burr. It is a judgment which illustrates the authors' sympathy as well as their fairness and originality.

DIXON RYAN FOX.

The Holland Land Company. By PAUL DEMUND EVANS, Ph.D.
[Buffalo Historical Society, volume XXVIII.] (Buffalo: the
Society. 1926. Pp. xiv, 469. \$6.00.)

UNTIL Doctor Evans wrote this book, Turner's *Pioneer History of the Holland Purchase of Western New York*, printed at Buffalo in 1850, was the only study of the problem. Although Turner was given access to many of the records of the Holland Land Company at Batavia, New York, he did not make extensive use of them. The materials in his book were thrown together in a haphazard manner. The most valuable manuscript sources and contemporary western newspapers had been practically untouched by Turner, and consequently there was need for a new study of the problem. While Doctor Evans did not have a wholly virgin field for his research work, yet no complete use of all the sources

in Holland and America had ever been made. The manuscripts in Dutch, French, and English included the Fairchild collection at Cazenovia, New York, the Huidekoper papers at Meadville, Pennsylvania, the Buffalo Historical Society collection, the Robert Morris Papers in the Library of Congress, the Schuyler and Vanderpoel Papers in the New York Public Library, and the large Van Eeghen collection in Amsterdam, Holland.

Doctor Evans explains in an entertaining manner how the Holland Land Company grew out of the interest of certain Dutch bankers in opportunities for speculation in American paper currency. In 1792 three banking houses, Stadnitski, the Van Eeghens, and Ten Cate and Vol-lenoven, authorized Cazenove, their agent in the United States, to invest 150,000 florins in wild lands. The first purchase aggregated 150,000 acres in central New York, which were secured at from five to twelve shillings an acre. An additional plot of 45,000 acres on Black River, New York, was added shortly thereafter. About this time two more banking houses, the Van Staphorsts and the Willinks, joined the enterprise. A fund of 1,400,000 florins was subscribed for investment in lands.

After a careful inspection of vacant lands in several states, Cazenove decided to buy 1,500,000 acres in western New York for the banking combine which in 1795 was known officially as the Holland Land Company. Other tracts were added in New York and Pennsylvania until the company's holdings exceeded 5,000,000 acres. Six directors managed the company. The holdings were divided into shares and the stock was placed on the market for sale.

Since the purpose of these purchases of land was speculation, no time was lost in offering lands for sale in small lots. The methods employed in disposing of the land through agents in America are described in detail in chapters on Cazenovia, Olden-barneveld, East Alleghany, West Alleghany, and the Genesee. Three excellent chapters are devoted to the significant and hitherto obscure anti-proprietary troubles which culminated in the riotous outbreaks of 1836.

The accounts of the company unfortunately are not available and consequently the exact financial results of the undertaking are not ascertainable. The author estimates however that the 1,300,000 acres of Genesee land, which cost about \$600,000, were sold for somewhat under \$2,000,000. Against this profit, he holds, should be placed a loss of approximately \$1,000,000 in Pennsylvania. Thus it would appear that the original investment was retrieved with interest at five or six per cent. If these estimates are correct, the Holland Land Company was not a pronounced business success measured by modern standards.

Aside from the illuminating account of the Dutch venture in land speculation in America, Doctor Evans has thrown some additional light on the political, social, and economic history of New York and Penn-

sylvania. His study is the outgrowth of a doctoral dissertation at Cornell University. It is a careful and thorough example of constructive historical writing and a contribution of much value on one phase of the American land problem.

A. C. FLICK.

The Correspondence of John Cleves Symmes, Founder of the Miami Purchase. Edited by BEVERLEY W. BOND, JR., Associate Professor of History in the University of Cincinnati. [Published for the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1926. Pp. xii, 312. \$2.50.)

THE present volume, as indicated by the subtitle, relates to the Miami Purchase, and consists of letters which passed between John Cleves Symmes, the founder of the "Purchase", and Jonathan Dayton, who aided the former by an adroit manipulation of the political wires in Congress. The correspondence falls within the years from 1788 to 1796, although the latter date by no means represents the termination of the efforts of Symmes to exact a percentage from his speculative enterprise. With a few exceptions the material has been drawn from the manuscript collection of Peter G. Thomson, of Cincinnati, Ohio.

The title of the book is a misnomer. There are 73 letters in the volume and 29 of these were written by Dayton to Symmes, and since they form an important part of the volume some indication of this should have been noted in the title. The use of the volume would have been greatly facilitated, moreover, by printing all the letters in chronological sequence, instead of segregating the two groups of letters as the editor has done. Circumstances occasionally arise which make it seem desirable to maintain a collection of papers intact when published, but this is true only when some peculiar historical significance is attached to the collection as such. In the present instance no such reason seems to apply.

A more vulnerable point in the book lies in its omissions. One wonders what principles of inclusion and exclusion were used in making up the content of the volume, but we are left in the dark in the matter. That the volume is fragmentary seems evident.

But despite these limitations the book is a significant addition to the growing mass of documentary collections dealing with various aspects of the colonization of the West. It is another illustration of the efforts of "big business", not always successful, to give form and direction to the movement and to apply pressure to the government. This is not so remote that it can not be understood to-day. The central theme running through the whole is the conflict between Symmes, the purchaser of a million-acre tract lying between the two Miami rivers, and the United States government over such matters as surveys and payments, and between himself and his customers over land sales and titles. Symmes was one of the three judges of the Northwest Territory, and he held this

position at the same time that he was attempting to administer and dispose of his vast tract. An interesting feature of the affair was the setting aside the so-called "reserved lands" for himself and a number of other proprietors. His grants of land outside the bounds of his survey, to which he held no title, led to a long controversy between himself and Governor St. Clair, which contributed, among many other factors, largely to his undoing. As Professor Bond has pointed out, in substance, Symmes was often careless and inattentive to mere legal technicalities. And the upshot of this "carelessness" was his ruin. It is a very revealing volume, although somewhat disappointing in the extent to which it enables the reader to envisage the frontier of that day.

The form, appearance, and editing of the volume are excellent. The canons of historical editing have been followed with precision. The historical introduction, not too long, but wholly adequate, clarifies a number of obscurities that appear from time to time in the letters. There is a calendar of the letters printed in the volume. The index is excellent.

C. E. CARTER.

Correspondence of Andrew Jackson. Edited by JOHN SPENCER BASSETT, Professor of American History on the Sydenham Clark Parsons Foundation, Smith College. Volume I. (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1926. Pp. xl, 508. Unbound, \$3.50; bound, \$4.50.)

A SCORE of years ago, in a paper entitled "Gaps in the Published Records of United States History", Dr. Jameson wrote: "It is needless to say with how much delight we shall all greet the publication of the papers of Andrew Jackson; but of this we are already certain." That the writer was a better historian than prophet and that something had happened to defeat the plans of 1906 was manifest three years later when, in the *Report to the President by the Committee on Department Methods, on Documentary Historical Publications of the United States Government*, the publication by the government of the papers of Andrew Jackson was listed as among the enterprises which had "leading claims for early undertaking". Another decade rolled by, and the papers of Andrew Jackson were still unpublished; but the appearance, in 1911, of *The Life of Andrew Jackson* by John Spencer Bassett had emphasized the necessity of the work so long and vainly awaited. At last, those who yearly peruse the *Annual Report* of the Director of the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington read in the fifteenth of that series the welcome news that the department had resolved to wait no longer on the uncertain future of government publication, but rather *fare da se*, and that Professor Bassett would edit, for publication by the department, the papers, and principally the letters, of Andrew Jackson. The volume now before us is the first of the six which will constitute this work.

AM. HIST. REV., VOL. XXXI.—53.

Of the letters and papers in this volume, less than two-fifths have to do with the years prior to 1812. This earlier part begins with a "Memorandum how to feed a Cock"—a document which takes us back to Jackson's childhood and raises a smile at the survival of this particular scrap of paper. While this part affords a variety of types of papers, there is not much sequence or cohesion, as the years to 1795 are represented by not more than two or three papers apiece. In other words the Jackson papers throw little light on Jackson's youth or on the formative period of the Territory South of the River Ohio. Of the years from 1796 to 1802 inclusive, only two—1797 and 1798—are represented by more than half a dozen items. For the years from 1803 through 1807 there is a good deal more; after that the volume of the papers drops off again until 1812 is reached. For the unevenness of quantity which characterizes these papers of the earlier part of Jackson's life an obvious explanation is found in the importance of certain episodes. Thus for 1797 and 1798 we have the correspondence between Jackson and his future enemy Sevier, and papers reflecting Jackson's service in Philadelphia, first as a representative and then as a senator from the new state of Tennessee. In the spring of 1798 he resigned from the Senate to become a judge of the state supreme court. There are but very few legal papers, but for the years 1803 and 1804, after Jackson had resigned from the court, we have a number of papers which relate to his commercial dealings, to his quarrel with Sevier, and to his characteristic protest to the authorities at Washington against the disciplining of Colonel Thomas Butler for insufficiently cropping his hair. There are more important reminders of Jackson's successive contacts with the federal government at the time of the threatened resistance of Spain to the surrender of Louisiana in 1803; in the circumstances of Aaron Burr's activities in the West; and in connection with the plans of the government as to West Florida in 1809. As one would expect, Jackson's affairs of honor bulk large; there is much material for the Dickinson duel of 1806 and for the feud with the Bentons in 1813.

The latter part of the volume—about three-fifths of the whole—covers two years and part of a third: 1812, 1813, and 1814 through April 25. Here, in sharp contrast with the earlier years, one finds a voluminous documentation of papers written by Jackson or directly to him, in connection with the expedition of 1812 to Natchez and the Creek wars. To the use of these papers the reader will find the best guide to be the corresponding chapters of Professor Bassett's *Life*. It may be noted that among other sources not in the *Correspondence*, but closely related thereto, the "Letters of John Coffee to his Wife, 1813-1815", published with notes by Judge DeWitt, in the *Tennessee Historical Magazine*, II. 264 ff., throw an interesting sidelight on the campaigns in which Jackson and Coffee fought, and that the point of view of a private soldier is revealed, for some of the related campaigns, by the *Autobiography of David Crockett*.

An extensive preface combines with an interpretation of Jackson's earlier career a review of the general's methods of writing and of the assistance rendered by his subordinates, and an account of the preservation of the papers left by Jackson, and of the relation to these of Kendall, Blair, and Terrell. In the opinion of the reviewer, it would have been better to elaborate this into a separate, critical bibliographical note. It is hardly necessary to say that Professor Bassett's editorial work has been well done. On pages 149 and 152 the editor's comment upon letters of September 25 and November 10, 1806, may be at first a little confusing to the reader, but this is very exceptional. Oversights that marked the *Life* are now avoided or corrected: *e.g.*, a letter which in the *Life* (I. 33) is ascribed to "Mark Armstrong, August 19, 1803", is now correctly given as by "Martin Armstrong, August 29, 1803". It might have been well to insert a word of preliminary explanation as to the arrangement of the foot-notes: these are numbered for each document, not for each page, and the effect is at first puzzling. The format, as was to be expected, is of the best.

ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT.

Abraham Lincoln, the Prairie Years. By CARL SANDBURG. Two volumes. (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company. 1926. Pp. xvi, 480; 482. \$10.00.)

OF the making of many books about Abraham Lincoln there is no end, and of most of them it is possible to say something good. One who watches the annual output may wonder what the next one will be about, but the next one comes and in a fair proportion of cases it contains something worth the printing. Just at present there are appearing a number of works of unusual interest and this is one of them. Carl Sandburg has written his best work in these two thick volumes. In no previous composition has he more completely expressed his own heart. His writing bears every evidence of affection for his task. What he heard about Lincoln in his boyhood in Galesburg, Illinois, and what he has been hearing and reading in the more recent years, have precipitated in these pages in a form that carries its own evidence of sincerity and devotion.

And it is pleasant reading. The text is cut into sections too short to deserve the name of chapters, and these begin so invitingly and end so attractively that the reader is encouraged to go on as he might not feel disposed to do if he saw that the next division would claim his attention for a matter of forty pages. Furthermore, the author has done a rather surprising amount of reading. He tells the story of Lincoln, but into it he weaves a good deal of interesting collateral material, displaying commendable diligence. The result is a piece of genuine literature, which will interest the people who love his poetry and many others who have not learned to care for his particular style, interesting and vigorous as it is.

Throughout the narrative one is conscious all the time that a poet is writing. Mr. Sandburg does not confine himself to cold fact; he throws about it the aura of poetic interpretation. Sometimes one could wish that he did less of this than he does. Lincoln was a sympathetic man, not wholly and invariably consistent in the manifestations of his sympathy; this is doubtless what Mr. Sandburg means when he tells us that there were soft spots in Lincoln, "like violets". That simile, and a number of others, raise the question how far strained figures of speech are justified in biographical studies.

But this is not in any accurate sense a biography. The publishers are asking us to believe too much when they lead us to expect any large amount of important new material. It could not well be there, and it is not. Most of Sandburg's new material has been familiar to recent authors who, for what seemed to them good reason, did not accept it. And in a good many places he follows the guesswork of earlier writers who wrote without accurate information. For instance, he tells us that the Lincoln family established itself in Indiana without a cow or horse. What had become of the cows and the four horses on which Thomas Lincoln paid taxes in Kentucky the previous year? He still had those horses, and he needed them or some of them for himself and family to ride to Indiana; and he had cows in Indiana, or the family would not have had the "milk-sick".

In a good many places one could wish that Mr. Sandburg had been a little more discriminating in his selection of material. It is not so important that a life of Lincoln such as this should attempt to give new material as that it should base its interpretation of Lincoln's character on material that is authentic. In the nature of the case it can not be in a work of this character that one is to discover much that has been previously unknown about Lincoln. That task belongs to critical scholarship and not to poetic fancy.

This work therefore is to be commended as a poet's interpretation of that part of Lincoln's life which preceded his inauguration as President of the United States, and not as an important addition to historical knowledge. Whether Mr. Sandburg will write other volumes on Lincoln as President, and if so how many volumes he will write, has not as yet been announced. These two volumes, considerably exceeding in bulk the two which Nicolay and Hay devote to the same years, raise the question how large the work will be if Mr. Sandburg goes on. Doubtless he will condense if he gives us more volumes.

But we read these two volumes on the prairie years and take no thought for the morrow. These are genuinely interesting; but they are literature not history, poetry not biography. They do not render critical study of Lincoln's life less important, but rather make it more so. They fill admirably their own place, and their poetic license is not to be taken too seriously. It would be easy and ungracious to point out historical in-

accuracies in these volumes. It is not as history they should be read but as literature.

WILLIAM E. BARTON.

Forty Years on the Frontier as seen in the Journals and Reminiscences of Granville Stuart. Edited by PAUL C. PHILLIPS. Two volumes. [Early Western Journals, II.] (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1925. Pp. 272; 265. \$12.50.)

"THE Stuarts seem always to have been pioneers", begins the author of these journals and reminiscences. They seem also always to have been chroniclers. Granville Stuart's father, leaving Virginia to "pioneer" in Illinois, as one of the first forty-niners journeyed overland to California, where he mined, hunted, and "kept a journal all the time" (I. 37) he was gone. James Stuart, brother of Granville, was an inveterate diarist, many of whose entries appear in these volumes. Only seven years after Stuart himself entered the wilderness of Montana, and "discovered" gold (1858), he became, with ten others, one of the incorporators of the Historical Society of Montana, organized "to collect and arrange facts in regard to the early history of the territory"! Few western pioneers have had so irresistible an historical complex.

Historians of Montana have long been indebted to the Stuart journals for material on the early history of that state. Portions have already appeared in the *Transactions* of the Montana Historical Society, of which Stuart was for many years an active member and officer. The present volumes, beside including large sections of these journals, contain connected narratives covering such matters as the gold days, Indian wars, the Vigilantes, and the early cattle business, which represent Stuart's own working over of his diaries and other papers. On the editor, Mr. Phillips, has fallen at times the task of selecting out of several narratives the one which seems to conform most closely to the daily entries. He has also included rather extended selections from the equally interesting, though less extensive, journals of James Stuart.

The narrative begins in 1852, when at the age of eighteen Stuart set out on the long journey to California, and continues to about 1885, closing with the passing of the open range in Montana. The California chapters are fresh and vivid, equalling in this respect any of the numerous diaries and journals of the argonauts. Leaving California overland for Iowa, in 1857, Stuart fell ill near the Mormon settlement of Malad, Idaho (the reviewer with difficulty resists the temptation of a bilingual pun), and, as a Gentile, fearing to remain in that vicinity with the approach of Johnston's army, quite by chance decided to turn north into what is now Montana. Arriving in the late fall of 1857, he at once became identified with the mining and subsequently the cattle interests of this territory, where he spent his life, save for a few years in South America. A striking western career is here presented in an in-

genuous and charming narrative. There is no other pioneer record of this section quite like it. If here and there the story fails objectively to square with all the facts, subjectively it offers the impressions day by day and year by year of an intelligent and public-spirited citizen, who chronicled step by step the conversion of a raw wilderness into a commonwealth. Here is a horse-wrangler and gold-sluicer travelling one hundred and fifty miles in the dead of winter to procure books which he had heard an Englishman had left in the country (I. 206) and paying five dollars for a copy of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, marrying a Snake Indian girl, who bore him nine children, expanding his business interests as a rancher, elected chairman of a national cattlemen's convention in St. Louis, member of the territorial legislature, minister to Uruguay and Paraguay, merchant, librarian, and chronicler extraordinary of the state of Montana.

The editor furnishes an informing introduction and an excellent index. In physical make-up these volumes sustain the reputation of a distinguished press.

H. C. DALE.

The Intimate Papers of Colonel House. Arranged as a narrative by CHARLES SEYMOUR, Sterling Professor of History, Yale University. Two volumes. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1926. Pp. xxiv, 471; viii, 508. \$10.00.)

THE mystery that has surrounded Colonel E. M. House has been dispelled; and with it once gone, the story of his acts and efforts as the agent of Woodrow Wilson is simple, direct, and convincing. The story comes at a moment when we are in danger of losing Wilson in the mass of unilateral testimony that is flooding the bookshelves with memoirs relating to him. The memoirs are inevitable, for no man who played a part in the drama of 1917 wants to have it forgotten or distorted. They are unilateral because it has been the decision of the executors of the estate of Woodrow Wilson not to waive their legal right to prevent the publication of his letters by others than themselves. This decision places a heavy responsibility upon them, both for the proper perpetuation of the memory of Woodrow Wilson, and for the clearing of the public record that every American has a right to demand. Woodrow Wilson spoke for his nation, for a time, as no other president has done. The nation has a right to go behind the scenes, and see the processes forming in his mind. But his official biography is not yet ready, and the unilateral glosses are threatening to build up a myth that may become too weighty to be lifted from his name. The papers of Colonel House, mutilated though they are by the restrictions placed upon them, come at an opportune time.

The papers show in the first place that Colonel House has been a collector of associations and influences without ever having the itch for

office. There is in him a touch of Mark Hanna, and one of Charles R. Crane. He has paid for his pleasure with disinterested advice that many have welcomed. The text here shows his affection for Woodrow Wilson, and Wilson's love and trust in him. There are few men in politics who want nothing for themselves; but the value of these few varies inversely with their number.

It has been easy to make a documentation of the career of Colonel House, because of his methodical habits. He kept not only his papers but a journal. Daily almost, throughout the Wilson period, he dictated a summary of the day's transactions to his secretary, so that his biographer has had access to a frank running comment that explains and illuminates the story at every point. He has used it in the present volumes up to the moment of the breach with Germany in 1917. It is reasonable to suppose, although the author does not say it in so many words, that more volumes are in process, to carry the narrative through to the moment when Colonel House was dropped from his favored position of unofficial prime minister in the spring of 1919. It would be human to withhold these later volumes until after the publication of President Wilson's correspondence. The volumes to come will have a unique and invaluable position among the memoirs of the World War; the two before us make it possible to understand more of the first administration of Woodrow Wilson than any other book that has appeared.

The prime question in determining the historicity of Colonel House, and in estimating his value, must concern him and his point of view. How did he take himself? The libraries are full of the books of little men who would have us think that they have controlled the mind and policy of their superiors at the great moments of crisis. Colonel House does not entirely escape the danger of revealing something of this sort in himself. Just before Christmas, 1916, he wrote ". . . we get nowhere. What is needed is consultation between the three of us [Wilson, Lansing, House], and a definite programme worked out" (II. 413). A few days earlier he had confided to his diary: "my worst fears as to our unpreparedness were confirmed. . . . I am convinced that the President's place in history is dependent to a large degree upon luck" (II. 412). The year before he had "tried to impress upon Lansing the necessity of the United States making it clear to the Allies that we considered their cause our cause" (II. 100). And again he wrote, "I do not believe he reads Gerard's or Penfield's letters, which come to me through him and are sent in that way for his information as well as mine" (II. 303). Such phrases as these are open to the interpretation that they measure only his earnestness in carrying on the duties confided to him by the President; but they have the air of implying that the policy was his, to be accepted by the President. Seward once thought as much concerning Lincoln.

It would have required a self-restraint and modesty more than human for one whose actual authority resembled that which Colonel House bore at many times, to have refrained entirely from dramatizing himself out of his subordinate post into that of the principal; or to have kept from sometimes fancying that his chief had entrusted to him more than was the fact. But the notable evidence of these two volumes is that in general Colonel House felt himself to be the clear eye and steady hand of Woodrow Wilson, all of which he was. Upon him the President could rely with a certainty and confidence almost without counterpart in our political history. It takes a great man to be able to use another wholeheartedly and safely; it takes a good man to be susceptible of such use.

The pleasant vanities and gossip that might easily have made up much of the story, and that give to Page's letters so much of their charm, are generally lacking here. This is an instructive book, without much sparkle, for Colonel House was in deadly earnest in the matters that Wilson allowed him to handle. He goes directly to the point. He exposes himself fully, and more than once confesses in a foot-note that he was quite wrong. He does not spare or explain those of his visions that failed of complete fulfillment. A large part of the book, indeed, is devoted to a minute account of two of his ventures that came to naught.

First was the Pan-American compact, a general treaty for all the American nations, that contained as its central feature the same guaranty of existing conditions that gave to Article X. of the Covenant of the League of Nations such vitality in politics. This was a favorite project of the Colonel, and had the backing of President Wilson up to the point at which he would have had to drop something more important to put it through. It was lost in the welter of larger things. For the historian the negotiation will have a value in showing the genesis of the ideas that Wilson carried into the Peace Conference in Paris.

The attempts to bring the World War to an end in 1915 and again in 1916 are other glorious failures, whose revelation is the more important because the popular clamor of the day believed the administration to be doing nothing and idling through the months. It was a striking idea, that the United States should propose to mediate, and then, if Germany declined as it was almost certain she would, enter the war on the side of the Allies. England understood the idea fully and rather liked it, but would not press it on France lest France should construe such pressure as wavering respecting the Allies' compact of September, 1914. France would have nothing to do with it, apparently not seeing any advantage in so near a promise of American entry, or perhaps having an eye on some main chance that such assistance might have endangered. At any rate the efforts failed, the moment passed, and President Wilson seems to have moved from a genuine cordiality towards the cause of the Allies to a fear that they were as bad as Germany. In this mood, on January 4, 1917, he said to House, "There will be no war

... it would be a crime against civilization" (II. 412); and upon this House commented, "The President may change this view for ... he changes his views often".

Behind these negotiations there had been a shadow of a hope, strengthened by von Bernstorff, that Germany was ready to stop and negotiate upon a basis of the restoration of Belgium and perhaps the return of Alsace and Lorraine. The hope was without foundation, as it turned out, but House continued to like and trust the German ambassador in Washington. Indeed neither Page in London nor Spring-Rice in Washington seems to have been able to render his country as useful service as von Bernstorff did to his.

There is much in the volumes that will alter the picture of the London mission of Walter Hines Page, which has held the centre of the historical stage for the past two years. Here it is made clear not only how completely Page ceased to be Wilson's ambassador, but how inadequately he realized it. His biographer tells how Page ceased to trust the President; he hardly suggests that the President had ceased to rely on Page. When House came to London, as he so often did, Page was not within his confidence. He wrote the President, March 2, 1915, "No one, of course, not even Page, knows when I see the different ministers or personages of importance" (I. 387). On one visit he let Page think the latter was arranging for an interview with Grey, whereas there had already been two secret interviews before the formal conference that Page was aware of (I. 426). Page was left at his post only because it would have been an embarrassment to remove him, and because the irregular communications through Colonel House were accomplishing all that was needed. Page was popular with the English in every walk of life, and to that extent was useful; but it had ceased to be possible for the President to get an opinion through him to the English ministers.

Colonel House seems to have settled many matters in the history of the years 1913-1917 beyond danger of change, but he whets the appetite for the Wilson volumes that Mr. Ray Stannard Baker is believed to be at work upon. There is no concealment by House of the fact that Woodrow Wilson was master of his own mind. It might be said from the Page letters and the Lansing book that Wilson failed in administration in not removing from office men who could not go mentally with him along the course that he felt bound to follow. But the House papers reveal the completeness with which he could delegate authority to those whom he trusted, and how open his mind could be under conditions that inspired him with confidence. No President who must do all his own thinking is fit to hold the office; relative ability in that high post depends largely upon the degree of success with which the thinking is decentralized and entrusted to competent assistants. Theodore Roosevelt had in unusual degree the ability to do this. Woodrow Wilson shows it with respect to House. But again and again these papers show that delegating

authority was not a surrender of judgment. House was blocked as completely when he went in a direction the President could not or would not go as he went freely when the President approved. We can see the outlines of the presidential authority; but not until we have access to the papers that are as yet kept in privileged seclusion can we put together the pieces of the picture and see him as a whole. It was twenty years after the death of Abraham Lincoln before Nicolay and John Hay made him a reality in history. It now appears that we may not have to wait so long a time before we arrive at an appreciation of Woodrow Wilson.

The great privilege that Professor Seymour has enjoyed has been exercised with accuracy, knowledge, and discretion.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

Latin America and the War. By PERCY ALVIN MARTIN, Ph.D., Professor of History, Stanford University. [The Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History, 1921.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1925. Pp. xii, 582. \$3.50.)

THE average student of the World War has a fair knowledge of the intricacies of European diplomacy of the period, which knowledge he would do well to supplement by a careful reading of this excellent study of the diplomatic history of the twenty Latin-American republics during such war. He may be surprised to learn how skillfully Latin-American executives and foreign ministers handled numerous and complicated negotiations with the belligerents. He will also be grateful to the author for his sympathetic and temperate treatment of the subject.

In an introductory chapter is given an appraisal of the factors which determined the attitudes of the twenty nations to the issues of the war. Then follow the diplomatic activities of each of the several republics; at the outset each affirms its neutrality, the stout maintenance of which, in the midst of complications, becomes increasingly difficult.

England's enforcement of the Black List sends the local German diplomats in high dudgeon to the local foreign offices; piratical German submarines sink merchantmen, which results in Latin-American cables to Berlin; German cruisers coal and refit in neutral Chilean waters; England sinks the *Dresden* in such waters—each event precipitating diplomatic questions of great importance to the neutral country involved. A huge fleet of German merchantmen in Latin-American harbors is gradually interned and then leased to the Allies, while in the countries which have broken relations or have become full belligerents, local enemy populations are prevented from making reprisals. The succession of events is similar to those taking place in the United States, but gives rise to less note-writing and quicker action.

Brazil first of all these neutrals protests the invasion of Belgium and then declares war, as does Cuba. Six others of the smaller republics do

likewise. Five, including Peru and Uruguay, sever relations with Germany. Seven, including Argentina, Chile, Colombia, and Venezuela, remain neutral throughout, thereby declining to voice officially their sympathy for the ideals and purposes of the United States and the Allies.

Of all the chapters, that dealing with Argentina is the most dramatic. The reviewer agrees with Dr. Martin's half-expressed opinion that President Irigoyen's stubborn maintenance of neutrality in spite of the perfidious Luxburg, was wise. The old Radical leader withstood the pressure of his own people and the representatives of all the Allied countries at Buenos Aires. His attitude must have been that of his own foreign minister, who privately remarked at a small Allied diplomatic gathering: "Remember you (the United States) did not go in until you were kicked in." If President Irigoyen granted a demand of the German minister, he would match it soon after with a friendly yielding to an Allied ambassador, and if he curbed the activities of the diplomats of one group he would at the first opportunity show his displeasure at some near-violation of neutrality on the part of the other. It was "Argentina first", as it should have been, however exasperating such patriotism seemed at the time to Allied diplomats on the spot.

It was not expected that Chile would break relations. Dr. Martin gives her officials full credit for their skillful maintenance of neutrality. He probably errs in stating that the "German problem in Chile presents only a remote parallel to the 'German peril' in Brazil". Those North Americans there whose business was to collect just such information for their government know that German influence was even stronger in Chile than in Brazil.

Plucky Uruguay, perhaps the favorite republic of all North Americans who know the twenty Latin-American nations, is given full credit for the skill exercised by her young diplomats during the crisis. No country, except possibly Brazil, is more friendly to the United States than is Uruguay.

In his conclusion, Dr. Martin refers to the more important post-war developments and to the problems involving the adhesion of nearly all the Latin-American countries to the League of Nations.

CHARLES BATES DANA.

MINOR NOTICES

Abstracts of Theses. [Humanistic Series, vol. I.] (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1925, pp. xi, 525.) The University of Chicago Press does a useful service to human studies by printing this volume of abstracts of theses, summarizing dissertations submitted to the faculties of the graduate schools for the degree of doctor of philosophy in the year 1922-1923. It is intended to publish such a volume each year. Under rules recently adopted, the printing of such an abstract absolves the young doctor from the burdensome requirement, formerly imposed,

of printing his thesis in full. About one hundred theses are summarized in the present volume. Of these, we note as historical the following: The Institutional History of the Northwest Territory (Attig); The Constitutional Basis of Public School Administration, 1776-1917 (Edwards); The Great Awakening in Virginia (Gewehr); The Early History of Colorado (Kingsbury); The Criminal Law and its Administration in Colonial Virginia (Scott); Edward I.'s *Quo Warranto* (Woodring); Early Moral Standards of Kentucky and Missouri (McPheeters); History of the Canadian Pacific Railway (Innis); The Political Labor Movement in Great Britain (Wright); The Administration of Justice in the Athenian Empire (Robertson); Thralldom in Ancient Iceland (Williams); The American Periodicals from 1850 to 1860 (Garwood); Josephus's Presentation of First-Century Judaism (Bos).

History of the Byzantine Empire. Translated from the French of Charles Diehl by George B. Ives. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1925, pp. x, 199, \$2.50.) If it be true that the history of the Roman Empire is yet to be written, it is even more true of the Byzantine Empire. For to-day there exists no detailed, general account of that Empire abreast of recent researches. Gibbon, whom Diehl calls "extraordinarily partial and out of date", can only be read in the light of Bury's notes; Finlay and Hertzberg are now also behind the times; Lambros is still in Greek, and the Russian histories incomplete, Kovalevsky and Uspenski ending with 717 A. D., and Vasiliev's first volume with 1081. We are, therefore, still dependent upon short manuals and monographs on different periods in various languages. Thus a manual by the genial pen of the professor of history at the Sorbonne will be welcomed.

Professor Diehl has written in the best French tradition of Byzantine studies, which were started by Ducange in the seventeenth century. Nowhere in Europe has the recent revival in Byzantine history been more marked than in France, so that the subject may be said to be peculiarly the field of French scholars. Thus, of the fifty-seven monographs appearing since 1876, and noted in appendix III., over half have been written by Frenchmen, and ten of these by Diehl. His long list of contributions culminated in 1919 in his *Byzance, Grandeur et Décadence*. While that work presents a synthetic picture of the greatness and decay of Byzantium and their causes, the present volume in shorter space gives an analytic outline of the story of Byzantium grouped by periods. It thus differs from the recent book of Baynes (1925), who devotes separate chapters to various phases of Byzantine culture. In eight brief chapters the story extends from 330 to 1453, the first six down to the Latin conquest in 1204, the last two recounting the vicissitudes of the Latin Empire, and of the Greek Empire at Nicaea (1204-1261), and of the reign of the Palaeologi (1261-1453), with briefer accounts of the Despotat of Mistra and of the Empire of Trebizond ending in 1460 and 1461 respectively.

The 176 pages of text are a triumph of condensation with no loss of

proportions or clarity, and a masterly appraisal of over eleven hundred years of history. In three appendixes are lists of the Byzantine emperors, tables of important events, and a condensed bibliography of the best books on the subject, and there is an excellent seven-page index. The four maps of the French edition (1920) are reproduced on one supplementary sheet, but the illustrations in that work, chiefly taken from the author's great *Manuel d'Art Byzantine* (1910), are unfortunately here omitted.

WALTER WOODBURN HYDE.

History of France. By Jacques Bainville. Translated by Alice Gauss and Christian Gauss. (New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1926, pp. x, 483, \$3.50.) The remarkably favorable reception which this book has received in France is readily understandable. For such a book, despite its point of view, one hundred and twenty-five editions within the first year after its publication, 1924, is not surprising. In France, as everywhere else, everybody has been predicting that when at length somebody should come who could write the history of the country in a small volume that was clear, vigorous, interesting, and reasonably sound, he would gain instant recognition and large reward. M. Bainville has actually done it.

The author is a nationalist. He holds that the building up of France was due chiefly to her monarchs and that none of the régimes in control since 1792 has served the national interest as well as the old monarchy did. He deplores as a national misfortune the loss of influence which the Church has suffered during the last two hundred years. These views, however, are expressed in a way which does not seriously detract from the value of the book as history. While they color the narrative to some extent they are always easily recognizable as the personal opinions of the author. They are, moreover, always presented in a perfectly fair way. There is a complete absence of the abuse and distortion which frequently mark the historical writings of the nationalist school.

The proportions correspond to the present-day demand. The early centuries are treated briefly, more recent times in relatively ample fashion. The fifteen centuries from Caesar's conquest of Gaul to the end of the Middle Ages have only a hundred pages; the next three hundred years have a hundred and sixty-five pages; the last century and a half get two hundred pages.

The translation by Dean and Mrs. Christian Gauss is in the main admirable. Nearly everywhere the exact thought and much of the literary style of the original are reproduced in distinctive and beautiful English. I believe, however, that the translators have had two regrettable misconceptions about their task. The original is very distinctly addressed to a French audience. Much of its merit lies therein. The translation by changing pronouns to nouns in large measure sacrifices that quality without any compensating advantage. Greater objectivity, the apparent reason for the change, is not really gained to any appreci-

able degree. M. Bainville makes frequent use of fairly long sentences with a series of clauses having a cumulative effect. The translators almost invariably break up such sentences into two or three shorter ones. The meaning of each of M. Bainville's clauses is rendered, but the cumulative effect of the series is often lost. For so good a translation there are a surprising number of small errors, probably due to carelessness in proof-reading. Some of the corrections of Bainville's errors themselves need correcting. The brief introduction by Dean Gauss contains a capital appraisal of M. Bainville's work.

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON.

Sumptuary Legislation and Personal Regulation in England. By Frances Elizabeth Baldwin, Ph.D., Professor of History, Hood College. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, series XLIV., no. 1.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1926, pp. vii, 282. Paper, \$2.50; cloth, \$3.00.) Our own American adventure in sumptuary legislation gives a certain interest to studies of similar experiments in other times. Dr. Baldwin has made such a study for England, beginning with the earliest sumptuary laws of the reign of Edward III. and continuing to the abandonment of such laws in the Stuart period. She shows that the English government was chiefly interested in regulating the food and clothing of its subjects, that prohibitive rather than prescriptive legislation was generally enacted, and that national regulation was only slightly supplemented by local town ordinances. English sumptuary laws had as their object the preservation of class distinctions, the limitation of practices that were considered deleterious in their social effects, the encouragement of home industries, and the stimulation of saving by the people in order that the king might find money available in time of need. Although persistently re-enacted for three centuries these laws "do not seem to have been rigidly enforced" and had "very little effect".

Dr. Baldwin's greatest contribution to knowledge lies in a careful compilation of all statutes and proclamations of sumptuary nature with a full digest of their provisions. In her efforts to sketch the social milieu of the several periods into which she divides her work, with general statements of the social and economic situation and detailed accounts of styles and fashions of dress, she has unfortunately relied too exclusively upon general secondary accounts like Hunt and Poole's *Political History*, Traill's *Social England*, and Calthrop's *English Costume*, without subjecting to more critical examination even crucial statements like one that Henry VIII. left "a country almost bankrupt but with an enormously rich government". Moreover, before Dr. Baldwin's final conclusions can be accepted as definitive, it will be necessary to augment her excellent analysis of the statutes with a study of the success and failure of their enforcement, based upon an investigation of the judicial manuscript ma-

terials preserved in England, rather than upon conjectures derived from preambles to acts of Parliament and from the lack of evidence in the printed sources.

F. C. DIETZ.

Germanischer Handel und Verkehr: Synoptische Handelsgeschichte der Germanischen Völker, von der Urzeit bis 1600. Von Erwin Volckmann. (Würzburg, Memminger, 1925, pp. vii, 540, 15 M.) This work is by an author who already has to his credit three other books dealing with the subject of economic history. It is based upon substantial authorities, literary and philological as well as those of a more specific historical nature. But emphasis is laid upon folk-psychology and historical philosophy after the manner of Lamprecht. The treatment is usually comprehensive and sometimes suggestive and the foot-notes form a convenient guide to the student who wishes to do further reading. As one reads it becomes increasingly apparent that the history of the rise of capitalism in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is the ruling interest of the author. In so far no criticism may be lodged against the treatment. But it becomes increasingly evident as one approaches the end of the book that there is an animus actuating the author, and finally the veil is lifted. Harsh though it seems to say, this book is an anti-Jewish tract cleverly arrayed in the vesture of legitimate history. Chapter XVI. is significantly entitled: "Fremdblütige im Germanischen Wirtschaftsleben", and in it the Jews are described as a people without a country (*heimatlos*), international instead of national, "modern nomads", while those Jews who fully and truly adopt the civilization and culture of the country in which they dwell are stigmatized as "Crypto-Jews" and "parasites" (see pp. 453-454, 471-472). Invective of the Jews in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century literature is approvingly quoted, notably Luther's famous rhyme (p. 471). Quotations from Renan and Macchiavelli are separated from their context to give point (pp. 453 note, 482). At the last the book becomes brutally frank. "Dieses Buch ist aber nicht für philanthropische Schwärmer, Phantasten oder Gefühlstrottel geschrieben, sondern als Versuch einer objektiven Handels- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Völker germanischen Stammes" (p. 482). It concludes with a request to the reader, which makes the purpose of the author transparent, to pass the book on—"Den befriedigten Leser bittet um Weiterempfehlung dieses Werkes". In short this work is propaganda, not history.

J. W. T.

Studies in the Period of Baronial Reform and Rebellion, 1258-1267. By E. A. Jacob, D.Phil. [Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History, edited by Sir Paul Vinogradoff, vol. VIII., no. XIV.] (Oxford, Clarendon Press; London and New York, Oxford University Press, 1925, pp. xvi, 443, \$7.00.) These studies constitute a valuable chapter in the

relatively new field of administrative and social history. Their object is to throw light on the social background of the Barons' Wars, and the extent to which the movement embraced a popular aim. The hitherto little-explored Assize Rolls of 1258-1261 and the Curia Regis and Assize Rolls of 1265-1270 form the basis for "two pictures of social and administrative conditions". The first shows the character of royal and seignorial exploitation, new here only in satisfying wealth of detail. The second proves that local disturbances were more far-reaching, the pacification of longer duration than usually supposed, and contributes something to financial history, tenurial changes, and the movements of an English *popolo minuto* in the towns. In line with Professor Tout's exposition of how little change the barons attempted in central administrative organization, it is interesting to find the same true of local reform machinery. The visitations, the equitable procedure of the *querelae*, are special manifestations of the general eyre, and in turn, preliminaries to the measures of Edward I.'s reign and the inquests of 1274-1275. A new interpretation points to the much-mooted *communitas bachelerie* as a group of mesne tenants. Interest is centred on this class somewhat to the exclusion of the minor tenants-in-chief, who must have profited equally by the measures of 1259. Certainly these mesne tenants did not constitute such a "new articulate interest" as the author assumes. The barons' promise to them in March, 1259, as Stubbs points out, "stands in direct relation to the corresponding articles of the charters of Henry I., John, and Henry III.", and, it might be added, certain letters patent issued between 1225 and 1258.

The very cautious conclusions on Montfort's supporters of 1264-1265, especially whether the "bachelery" may be found among them, are misleading and minimize the actual achievement. Numerical estimates and the proportion of mesne and other tenants are results still to be obtained, but these studies do picture in concrete reality the small tenant, his grievances, and his activities in 1264-1265, and suggest that in the end he received lasting protection, not in constitutional schemes, but in measures like the Statute of Marlborough and the new actions framed. The text is supplemented by tables and appendixes; the records are classified and described, with the intent to inspire interest in this material and its further use.

FAITH THOMPSON.

Lectures on Foreign History, 1484-1789. By J. M. Thompson, Fellow of St. Mary Magdalen College. (Oxford, B. H. Blackwell; New York, Macmillan Company, 1926, pp. 446, 8s. 6d.) Here is on the whole a well-constructed narrative of European history within the dates specified. If the facts seem loosely arranged, they are interestingly presented. If the method of presentation seems unconventional for a book it would seem a happy one for lectures.

One would criticize but little the arrangement of the material or the proportions assigned to the different topics. There is a very fair appreciation of the importance of Eastern Europe. In the excellent evaluation of events and intimate analyses of the principal characters in these events there is much to praise. The pictures of court and common life are vivid, simple, and clear. That they show insight and originality of treatment one must concede even if one disagrees with or would qualify some statements. These characterizations, too, are excellent: Frederick the Great, Peter the Great, Richelieu, Louis XVI., Henry of Navarre, Charles V. (to take at random) are all very well done, made alive and real. One is reminded of the works of James Breck Perkins and of E. J. Lowell. But while the style is as easy and the story as well told, this book is much more of a mosaic of extracts from various authors. These extracts are, however, skillfully intertwined with the text.

A serious student may resent the lack of definite authorities. Names inserted, as (Malet) (Sully), without page reference are inadequate for such purposes even when supplemented by a list of authors and books at the end of the volume, a list without initials for the authors or comments upon their works. *Maria* (p. 340) for Maria Theresa hardly adds to the dignity of the text. "A succession of infants and intrigues" (p. 371) did not fill, in Russian history, the interval between 1721 and 1730. Czecks (p. 170 ff.) is hardly the preferred spelling, but such errors are scarce.

ARTHUR I. ANDREWS.

La Restauration Religieuse aux Pays-Bas Catholiques sous les Archiducs Albert et Isabelle, 1596-1633. Par A. Pasture, Licencié en Sciences Morales et Historiques. (Louvain, A. Uytpruyst, 1925, pp. xxxi, 377, 30 fr.) No task is too long or too tedious for the patient group of Louvain students of Belgian ecclesiastical history. The present study is a doctor's thesis, begun under the late Canon Cauchie of honored memory, and should have appeared in 1914. The manuscript material was destroyed in the fire which gutted the city of Roulers at the beginning of the war; but the author began his work all over again, and painfully put his mass of data together a second time. He limits himself chronologically to the interval between the arrival of the Archduke Albert as governor general of Flanders (1596) and the death (twelve years after that of the archduke himself) of his consort and successor the Infanta Isabella; geographically to the two ancient ecclesiastical provinces of Malines and Cambrai; and as to subject-matter, to those reforms which were a specific carrying out of decrees of the Council of Trent. It is a tribute to the effectiveness of that troubled council, called, dispersed, and called again under such difficulties as few other deliberative bodies have met in all history, that its labors accomplished wonders in the purification of the Church and the checking of her losses. After studying this re-

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markable record of reform in southern Flanders, one is inclined to the conclusion that a high degree of credit for holding this section in the Catholic fold—so that still to-day, with Protestant Holland to the north, mainly Protestant Germany to the east, and free-thinking France to the south, she is still the leading stronghold of Catholicism in western Europe—is due, not to the skill or tact, but to the fundamental goodness and honesty of the Archduke Albert. French ecclesiastical appointments were largely political plums and personal favors. The governor of Flanders exercised his right of nomination in the fear of God. The Flemish bishops were in the main honorable and capable. The Flemish clergy, largely because of the pitiful poverty of the war-ridden country, were often ignorant and stupid, but a Flemish priest who was not reasonably hard-working and clean-lived was not likely to keep his cure long. This situation, at this critical period, is no doubt a chief reason why Belgium is Catholic to-day.

But generalizations of any sort are only implicit in A. Pasture's laborious and cautious catalogue. It would seem as if even a doctor's dissertation would have done more good with a little less of bibliography and a little more of living information.

ROY TEMPLE HOUSE.

The Diplomatic Relations of Portugal with France, England, and Holland from 1640 to 1668. By Edgar Prestage, M.A., D.Litt., Camões Professor in London University. (Watford, Voss and Michael, 1925, pp. xiii, 237, 16s.) This book by the Camões professor at King's College, London, is the best on the subject in any language. It antiquates for all but very special purposes Santarem's pioneer *Quadro Elementar* in eighteen volumes, which for more than sixty years has been accepted as the standard work. Santarem's endless summaries of documents and letters make his work still useful as a quarry of raw historical material; but in other respects, within the chronological limits indicated by its title, Professor Prestage's single volume marks a distinct advance. It is more comprehensive, more trustworthy and usable, it cites recent monographic literature, and it shows deeper insight into motives. Nearly one-third of the volume is devoted to the only account of Portuguese-Dutch relations ever attempted in historical literature.

Professor Prestage's knowledge of Portuguese diplomacy, particularly in its golden age, the seventeenth century, is unrivalled. Not only has he published a very large number of monographs upon it and upon seventeenth-century Portuguese literature, but his long residence in Portugal, where he still maintains a second home, has given him an enviable familiarity with all phases of Portuguese culture. This is a work of erudition for scholars in which a rich cultural background inevitably betrays itself. In so far as it incorporates the results of Professor Prestage's own monographs, it may be accepted as definitive. In other

respects, it is an advance upon anything hitherto attempted, and it will greatly facilitate further monographic studies.

The peculiar interest of seventeenth-century Portuguese diplomacy lies in the fact that Portugal was a pawn, or something more than pawn, in the diplomatic game of the great powers. In addition, the unprotected state of the Portuguese colonies aroused the keen and more or less wolfish interest of the maritime powers. The subject has therefore wider ramifications than one might at first suspect. This book can not safely be ignored by any scholar to whom seventeenth-century European diplomacy or overseas expansion is of importance. For research in these fields, it is indispensable.

GUERNSEY JONES.

The Background of Modern French Literature. By C. H. C. Wright, Professor of French Language and Literature in Harvard University. (Boston, Ginn and Company, 1926, pp. xiv, 329, \$2.00.) Professor Wright's book is intended primarily for the use of students of French literature, and fortunate are those who have this accompaniment to such studies. But if there are students of French history who are not contented with having "taken" History 1, 2, 3, . . . 117, and desire really to understand the modern French, especially those of the times since the Revolution, they should by all means read this book. Professor Wright treats of the land, of French policy, thought, religion, manners, classes of society and their mutual relations, social types, intellectual and educational influences, literary themes and fashions, in the successive periods of modern French history. All these topics are pursued through their changing phases and fashions, under the Revolution, the Empire, the Restoration, the Second Republic, the Second Empire, and the Third Republic. The period from 1830 to 1840 is treated with especial fullness because of its importance in the development of French literature. All the topics which have been named above have been treated with extraordinary breadth and completeness of view, and with a most striking richness of knowledge. Many literary quotations exemplify points of social history indicated, and there are 50-odd well-chosen illustrations, derived from contemporary books or caricatures.

Miranda et la Révolution Française. Par C. Parra-Pérez. (Paris, Librairie Pierre Roger, 1925, pp. lxii, 474.) For some years Señor Parra-Pérez has been the diplomatic representative of Venezuela at Bern. In a dedicatory address to President Gómez the author expresses his appreciation of the fact that this volume was issued at the expense of the Venezuelan government. Partly, at least, through diplomatic acquaintances, friendly correspondents, and hired copyists, Parra-Pérez gathered his materials from libraries or archives in Leningrad, London, Paris, and Vienna. Here and there in his lengthy introduction he cites new evidence which elaborates or modifies the narrative of the reviewer in the Adams

Prize Essay published in 1909. In his last chapters and conclusion he presents a sketch of his hero's activities from 1797 to 1816. It is in the main—with the possible exception of chapter IV., part I.—only in these outlying tracts that Miranda's master passion, the emancipation of Spanish America, is displayed in a new or significant light.

The body of the book is devoted to a minute study of Miranda's activities in France from 1792 to 1798. This portion falls naturally into two parts: one part concerning the Venezuelan's career as a French general; and the other concerning his rôle in the tortuous politics of France. In the first part Parra-Pérez describes the milieu into which Miranda entered in 1792 and considers in detail his activity in the Argonne, at the siege of Antwerp, before Maestricht, and in the retreat upon Louvain. In the second part the author describes in detail the varied experiences of Miranda in France after his triumphant acquittal on the charge of treason by the Revolutionary Tribunal. Not only does he describe Miranda's political programme in 1795 and his interest in the fine arts, but he also discusses his relation to the events of 13 Vendémiaire, of 18 Fructidor, and of 18 Brumaire.

At times Parra-Pérez is weak in historical technic. There arise about some of his foot-notes queries which are particularly disconcerting because of the absence of a bibliography. In some cases his quotations from inedited manuscripts are inexact. His conclusions are sometimes based on insufficient evidence. An analytical index would have rendered more available the large amount of information assembled in this book about the activity and personality of the knight-errant of Spanish-American independence.

WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON.

The First Napoleon, Some Unpublished Documents from the Bowood Papers. Edited by the Earl of Kerry. (London, Constable; Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1925, pp. xx, 355, 21 s.) To the amateur in Napoleonic studies this charming volume will seem rich in fascination; to the sober historian, however, it will prove almost barren of new information, though it furnishes "close-ups" of the Emperor and reveals glimpses into his mind at several critical moments in the years of decline and eclipse.

The Earl of Kerry, eldest son of the present Marquess of Lansdowne, has compiled this book from the family papers at Bowood. The Marquess's maternal grandfather, Charles Auguste, comte de Flahaut, a former aide-de-camp of Napoleon, married in 1817 Miss Elphinstone, daughter of Viscount Keith, the admiral who held Napoleon in custody after his surrender on board the *Bellerophon* in 1815. The crisp letters of the old sea-dog reveal him "doing my best to nab Nap!", but a fortnight later, when he had "Bony under my wing", nervously eager to transfer "this Reptile" to Admiral Cockburn for the voyage to St. Helena.

In sharp contrast appears Flahaut's enthusiastic devotion to the Emperor whom he served with unwavering admiration and fidelity from the days of the Consulate to the second abdication. His letters and memoranda, which form the most important contribution in the volume, vividly illumine the Russian campaign, clarify some doubtful points in the Waterloo contest, and exhibit with peculiar clearness Napoleon's mind at work on the problems of statecraft both at the pinnacle of success at Schönbrunn in 1809 and in the desperate trials of 1813 and 1814. Extracts from Flahaut's correspondence with his mother lift a corner of the veil of secrecy which has surrounded his affection for Queen Hortense and the birth of their son, the Duc de Morny.

A letter to the third Marquess of Lansdowne from George Venables-Vernon recounts an interview which he and another member of Parliament had with Napoleon at Elba in December, 1814. Few documents contain within such narrow compass the Emperor's observations on so many points in his career. Napoleon's characteristic bluntness appears in this sally at his interlocutors: "You have often accused me of ill-treating conquered countries, but look what you have just done at Washington. You have burnt public buildings, and done a great deal of harm to the people." Only less interesting are the letters from St. Helena in 1816-1817 written by a niece of Viscount Keith, whose husband, Admiral Malcolm, was in command of the British fleet on the Cape station. Finally mention must be made of the remarkably intimate characterization of the Empress Josephine by her friend, Madame de Souza, the mother of Flahaut.

Most of the original documents are in French but appear in this volume in English translation, though a few are also given in the original in the appendix. The editorial work and the printing have both been excellently done.

GEORGE MATTHEW DUTCHER.

Norway. By G. Gathorne Hardy. [The Modern World, edited by the Right Hon. H. A. L. Fisher, M.P.] (London, E. Benn; New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925, pp. 324, 15 s.) The author has been given the task of depicting modern Norway, not of writing its history. Nevertheless both the brief survey of the past and the account of present-day conditions contain much that is good history. Perhaps the former takes for granted more historical knowledge than the average non-Norwegian reader possesses, but, within the space at his disposal, Mr. Hardy has succeeded admirably in his interpretation of more than a thousand years of recorded history.

He writes from the vantage-point of a foreigner thoroughly familiar with the country and its people. His knowledge of the language and literature and of the social and economic problems of Norway is remarkably wide and accurate. He knows the old sagas, as might be ex-

pected from the author of one of the best treatises on the Vinland voyages, and he is equally well at home with the writers of the nineteenth century and with those of to-day. Björnson, the great nationalist poet, has evidently left a greater impression upon Mr. Hardy than has Ibsen. This might, indeed, be expected in an author who deals with "historical forces", for Björnson was certainly more of a national force in his day than was Ibsen. In common with many others, Mr. Hardy regrets the bitter strife between those who uphold the old written language and those who favor its replacement by spoken dialects; but he is hopeful as to the outcome because he has faith in the Norwegians.

Praise is meted out both to the dwellers in the halls and to those who live in huts. But the praise is often tempered by sound critical observations. The various topics are dealt with in an objective, scholarly fashion, and the story is told in a clear, straightforward style. The book reflects credit on its author and on the series to which it belongs. It will be read with profit and pleasure by all who seek more knowledge about the world in which we live.

PAUL KNAPLUND.

Joseph Chamberlain and English Social Politics. By Elsie E. Gulley, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History, Wheaton College. [Columbia Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. CXXIII., no. 1.] (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1926, pp. 370, \$3.50.) This doctoral thesis is a useful study of one phase of Joseph Chamberlain's long career. The treatment is topical. After a brief sketch of his political life, there are chapters on his connection with municipal reform, political reform, education, the Board of Trade, disestablishment, land reform, and labor legislation, and on Chamberlain the imperialist in relation to Chamberlain the social reformer.

The author finds keys to his career in his early life. As the descendant of a line of cordwainers, a member of the most radical sect of Non-conformists, and with a higher education confined to business experience, he was bound to be a statesman with a very different outlook from the usual Eton-Oxford type. Unlike Cobden and Bright, manufacturers who preceded him in politics, he was devoted to no theoretical economics, but took his ideas from observation of things as they were. Accordingly, the *laissez-faire* of the Manchester men gave way to a vastly extended conception of the sphere of government. His well-known success in the application of these ideas while mayor of Birmingham opened the way to a career in Parliament and Cabinet. He became the national figure whose "unauthorized programme" thrilled all Liberals and Radicals with the hope that a new order of social welfare was to be inaugurated. It was only partially fulfilled. The Irish issue intruded, whereupon his zeal for social reform was superseded by the ideal of preserving the Union. As a Liberal Unionist he had hopes of realizing his social

policy by co-operation with the Conservatives, but he could not remain long in that company without concessions to Toryism. The inevitable result was the progressive dilution of his radicalism, which often ended in the complete repudiation of former views.

This evolution is traced in detail in connection with the subject-matter of each of Miss Gulley's chapters. His reversal of position is shown on such issues as the House of Lords, woman suffrage, disestablishment, and denominational schools. It is brought out that the abandonment of his early close co-operation with labor was a fact of importance, because it left that element without a strong Liberal leader and thereby furthered the movement for an independent Labor Party. The author proves, however, that to the end his interest in the working man is apparent, as in the attempt to link imperialism with social politics by arguing that the standard of living would be raised by the adoption of protection. She approves the statement of Ramsay MacDonald that the explanation of Chamberlain's opinions and conduct throughout his life is to be found in his "communal consciousness".

CARL F. BRAND.

The Years of My Pilgrimage: Random Reminiscences. By the Right Honorable Sir John Ross, Bart., last Lord Chancellor of Ireland. (London, Edward Arnold and Company; New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1924, pp. viii, 304, 18 s.) Sir John Ross says that he has made no attempt to write history and he is not overstating the case. Some account of his career as a candidate for and member of Parliament and of his longer and more significant career on the bench, and a great many stories from his own experience and from dinner tables fill up the book. There is occasional comment upon the great figures he has known, but that comment is seldom incisive or fresh. This is to be said in praise of the book: that it is a book about things Irish by an Ulsterman, about Ireland north and south, during a time when wars and rumors of war were rife, written without passion and with constant good humor.

Four Centuries of Modern Iraq. By Stephen Hemsley Longrigg, M.A. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1925, pp. x, 378, 21 s.) Viewed in perspective the period 1500 to 1900 is probably the least important in the long history of Mesopotamia. Heretofore no historian writing in any language has undertaken the work of piecing together from inaccessible sources, principally Turkish and Arabic, the story of these comparatively uneventful years. Hence it is greatly to Mr. Longrigg's credit that he undertook this trying task. It is more to his credit that he has succeeded in writing a narrative which is full of inherent interest, throws light upon a number of associated problems of the Near East, reconstructs the social and economic history of Mosul, Bagdad, and Basrah, and traces Ottoman provincial administration in its several stages and varie-

gated forms. The volume contains indeed page upon page of dull reading concerning the activities of obscure and unimportant pashas, sheiks, and mamlukes. But to compensate for this dullness there are recurrent stirring passages, as, for example, the account of Sultan Murad's campaign against Bagdad in 1638 (pp. 68-74) and the account of the Persian siege of Bagdad in 1733, including the relief of the city by Topal Uthman Pasha, "the Lame" (pp. 138-146).

Mr. Longrigg is at his best in describing the condition of Iraq at the opening of the sixteenth and the close of the nineteenth century. He is aware of, although he does not exploit to the full, the influence of the geographical discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries upon the life of the Near East. He appears to understand that the Portuguese naval control of the Persian Gulf probably had more to do with the decline of Iraq than the Turkish conquest. Again, he is conscious that the river steamboat, the telegraph, and the railway did more to revive Iraq than the reforms of Midhat Pasha. His account of the four centuries from Suleiman the Magnificent to Abdul Hamid is episodic, but throughout there are certain well-defined themes. It is clear, for example, that Ottoman rule always rested lightly upon Iraq, which thereby was spared many of the abuses as well as denied many of the advantages of administration from Stamboul. It is clear also that many of the problems of present-day Iraq are rooted in a distant past, as, for example, the racial rivalries of Arab and Turk and Kurd, the religious antipathies of Sunni and Shia', and the economic cleavages of town and tribe.

Mr. Longrigg writes in admirable spirit and only once (p. 269) descends to the trite. Although his book will of necessity appeal to a comparatively small circle of readers, it will be appreciated, for its content and suggestiveness, by students of the Near East.

EDWARD MEAD EARLE.

Scenes and Characters from Indian History, as described in the Works of Some Old Masters. Compiled and edited with historical and explanatory notes by C. H. Payne. (London and New York, Oxford University Press, 1925, pp. viii, 251, 6s.) The selections forming the text of this book have been chosen for their illustrative value from the accounts of eye-witnesses and contemporaries of some of the leading events in Indian history. In time, they cover the period from the conquests of Alexander the Great to the waning of Mogul power. Of the first two of the ten selections it may be said that they constitute "almost our only stepping stones through a thousand years of fable". The subsequent ones, picturing incidents in the rise and fall of empires during the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries and the arrival in India of the first Europeans, give the book considerable practical value as a volume of source-readings on the background of European penetration in the East.

The title is somewhat misleading, however, in speaking of the contents as "described in the works of some Old Masters". Several of these selections were written by men whose names are thus saved from oblivion more from the chance circumstances under which they wrote than from any importance attaching to themselves either as persons of standing or as expert chroniclers.

The most valuable element in the book to the serious student of Indian history is contained in the chapter introductions and in the extensive and scholarly series of foot-notes. In these the editor brings the light of modern historical criticism, to which he contributes not a little, to bear on the authenticity and accuracy of the accounts presented. A considerable amount of historical knowledge is thus introduced to supplement and explain the illustrative readings, though at times the reader is likely to feel that the narrative theme is made too readily to serve as a text for the comments of the editor. An error in the spelling of Lane-Poole (p. 141 n.) has been noted.

HALFORD L. HOSKINS.

China and the West, a Sketch of their Intercourse. By W. E. Soot-hill, Professor of Chinese in the University of Oxford. (London and New York, Oxford University Press, 1925, pp. viii, 216, 10 s. 6d.) It is no light task to summarize within the limits of two hundred and sixteen pages the entire history of China's intercourse with the Occident, and it is not an occasion for wonder that even so distinguished a sinologue as Professor Soot-hill has failed to perform it with entire success. The author begins his story with incidents two centuries or more before the Christian era and brings it down to date, and in doing so gives not only the general outline of events but a good deal of illustrative detail. The result is a most readable volume, valuable for its attempt to depict briefly the sweep of great and important movements. The author has, however, fallen into three rather grave errors. In the first place, his picture, especially of events of the last century, is ill proportioned. He is writing chiefly for the British public, and hence more than the events justify he dwells upon the part that Great Britain has taken in China's affairs. That part has been large, but it is not quite as important as he apparently would have his readers believe. In his haste, he passes over too lightly or entirely ignores important events which a better rounded presentation would undoubtedly have included. In the second place, Professor Soot-hill seems over eager to place in a favorable light British actions in and toward China. These undoubtedly do not deserve all the opprobrium which it has been the fashion in some quarters to cast upon them, but they have not been quite as nearly impeccable as the author would have us believe. In the third place, the author has been guilty of mistakes in details which more careful investigation would have eliminated. Thus, the third successor of John of Montecorvino as archbishop of Cambaluc

was not Jacques de Florence (p. 54) but William of Prato. It is practically certain that not one of John's successors to the title ever reached Cambaluc. It is putting the unhappy situation of Roman Catholics in China in 1800 too strongly to say (p. 95) that "the eighteenth century closed with . . . the Church apparently destroyed". The church had suffered greatly, but there were still missionaries in several provinces and the number of Christians was probably not far from two hundred thousand. It is also incorrect to say (p. 92) that it was from 1700 "that France became protector of Catholic Missions in China". She had an interest in some of the Jesuits in Peking, and to a less extent in the representatives of the Missions Étrangères of Paris, but until well into the nineteenth century Portugal claimed the right of patronage to all the episcopal sees in China. The French protectorate of Catholic missions really dates from the treaties of 1844 and 1858. These and a good many other errors in detail do not greatly mar the book for the usual purposes of the general reader, but they make it necessary for the scholar to be on his guard in using the volume as a work of reference.

K. S. LATOURETTE.

Rebel Saints. By Mary Agnes Best. (New York, Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1925, pp. xi, 333, \$3.00.) One does not wish to occupy much space in the *American Historical Review* in discussing this book. It is not what historians call serious history. It is propaganda of the better sort. It tells about some of the saintliest saints the world has produced. They were Quakers. To Miss Best (not a Quaker) their halos were always worn double because they were rebellious saints. They rebelled against things as they were. They were "pacifists" in the best sense of that term, "makers of peace". But they were not passive. They fought to the death, although with spiritual weapons, witness the Quaker martyrs on Boston Common.

There are chapters about George Fox, William Penn, Margaret Fell, Mary Fisher, Mary Dyer, Edward Burrough, and others. Miss Best has taken her facts chiefly from standard Quaker histories and biographies. She makes the kind of factual mistakes that always come from quick reading and soulful writing. Rufus M. Jones has never been president of Haverford College. Elizabeth Haddon's courtship was the basis for Longfellow's poem "Elizabeth", not for his "Courtship of Miles Standish".

It is a good book, well written, easy and interesting to read. It should prove informing and stimulating to any careful reader. Every page of it contains food for serious thought. So the reviewer has never a prejudice against it as a book of its kind. He merely states an obvious fact when he says that it is not the kind that historians call well-balanced, sober history. It is a collection of selected historical facts to prove a perfectly fine thesis, that to meet the great issues of the present day all

good men and women should rally at Armageddon and battle for the Lord.

Colonial Records of Spanish Florida: Letters and Reports of Governors and Secular Persons. Translated and edited by Jeannette Thurber Connor. Vol. I., 1570-1577. [Publications of the Florida State Historical Society, no. V.] (Deland, Fla., the Society, 1925, pp. xxiv, 368.) The late Woodbury Lowery and others have illustrated with sufficient fullness the history of Spanish Florida down to 1574, but for the period of Spanish control from that date to 1763 few official documents have ever been published, and for lack of them historians have had, and have furnished, exceedingly little information, and much of that little has been inaccurate. Mrs. Connor and the new Florida State Historical Society have in this handsome volume made a beginning in the long work of supplying this gap. Some thirty documents, mostly of the period from 1574 to 1577, derived from the Archives of the Indies at Seville, are here presented, Spanish originals on the left-hand pages, English translations opposite. The translations are careful and good, and Mrs. Connor's notes are well informed, helpful, and sufficient. The period is mainly that of Menéndez Marqués, and much of the material comes from his pen or that of his cousin, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés the younger. But near the beginning of the volume there is an important report by their uncle the Adelantado, on the damage and murders inflicted by the coast Indians of Florida, on the basis of which, supported by many depositions, he begs permission to export natives as slaves. Another important body of depositions is one of 1576 and 1577 in which the settlers at Santa Elena describe their losses and sufferings and petition to be removed elsewhere. Much interest also attends the full description of Florida and conditions there, set forth by Baltasar del Castillo y Ahedo in 1577 after his *visita* of the province. Many of the other documents are vivid, entertaining, or pathetic. Evidently the series opened by this volume is destined to revolutionize the history of Spanish Florida.

Les Réfugiés Huguenots en Amérique. Par Gilbert Chinard, Professeur à l'Université Johns Hopkins. (Paris, Société d'Édition "Les Belles-Lettres", 1925, pp. xxxvii, 245, 10 fr.) In his introduction, "Le Mirage Américain", M. Chinard calls attention to the generalizations which grow up among a people with regard to the country and character of another people. He traces the history of the illusions that the French have had regarding the people of the New World from the earliest reports of "un pays d'une fabuleuse richesse . . . de villes dont les pavés étaient d'or" to the modern Frenchman who is apt to consider "des cow-boys, des Américains représentatifs". He concludes: "Et s'il en est vraiment ainsi, comme nous le croyons fermement, l'étude de la psychologie des peuples, la genèse des opinions toutes faites, l'origine des préjugés nationaux, doivent plus que jamais attirer l'attention de tous

ceux qui travaillent à donner aux relations internationales un fondement plus exact, plus solide, et plus juste." The effort to develop this better mutual understanding seems to the author particularly desirable in the case of the peoples of France and the United States because they, "à certains moments de leur histoire, ont été poussés l'un vers l'autre par un grand élan sentimental, continuaient de s'ignorer, de se méconnaître et quelquefois de se calomnier". M. Chinard's book on the Huguenots in America is a scholar's contribution to the cause of international understanding.

It is also a welcome contribution to what might be called the ethnic and cultural history of the people of the United States. M. Chinard is interested in all phases of the Huguenot movement to the New World but particularly in the adjustments of the French to their physical and social surroundings in the English colonies. The author develops his points clearly and with a pleasing style. The account is well documented. One of its chief virtues is the caution which the author shows when attempting to estimate the general contribution of the Huguenots to American life. "Quand il s'agit de déterminer quelle influence ils ont pu avoir sur la formation du caractère dit 'américain', on se trouve immédiatement sur un terrain moins solide. Les historiens des Huguenots sont probablement allés beaucoup trop loin dans cette direction et, comme tant d'autres, se sont laissés entraîner par une conception a priori du caractère français." M. Chinard does, however, make some interesting suggestions regarding the cultural contributions of the Huguenots. The book has a useful bibliography.

RALPH H. GABRIEL.

The French Régime in Wisconsin and the Northwest. By Louise Phelps Kellogg, Research Associate of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. (Madison, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1925, pp. xv, 474, \$3.50.) The paramount service which Miss Kellogg has rendered in this work is not the mere telling of events, many of them already amply recorded elsewhere, but the presenting of facts with a careful adjustment of their relative importance. To do this she has had to combat some favorite theories, but she is always ready to fortify her assertions with citations from original authorities. There is also much new material presented. Nowhere else is there so clear a setting forth of the events of the wars with the Foxes, 1701-1738.

In regard to early missions she is very clear-sighted, and does not fall into the frequent error of vaguely ascribing great results to the efforts of the early missionaries. Her statement that "no Iroquois tribe was ever Christianized by the Jesuits" is a salutary corrective for much exuberance to be found in many works. It was an attempt to minister to the fugitive Hurons that tempted the first missionaries into Wisconsin; René Ménard, the leader in that field, appears to have perished alone in

the wilderness, with no conversions to his credit. The experiences of those who came after him are compactly related, with frequent citation of original authorities and an adequate appreciation of the value of the missionaries in early Wisconsin life.

The opening chapters are devoted to an elaborate review of the progress of discovery on the North American continent, and of the growth of knowledge concerning the great rivers and lakes. Much of this, in view of the thoroughness with which the subject has been covered by other writers, would appear superfluous. Our author's attempt, however, has been "to write from the standpoint of the West, to make the Northwest the unit of consideration". The eighteenth century, the period of greatest activity of the French in the Wisconsin region, has been accorded nearly one-half of the present volume. There has been no attempt at glorification of the advance-guard of explorers or missionaries, but there is evident a desire to give due value to them. The more than 450 pages of the work show an admirable balance and even the most familiar episodes have the new value of being told by a well-poised mind. Instance the treatment Miss Kellogg accords the encounter between Champlain and the Iroquois, that skirmish "the consequences of which have been so greatly overestimated". "The Five Nations were no doubt irritated with the French for their summary defeat by means of the alarming firearms; but to ascribe their hostility to an entire nation for a hundred years to the act of one man, even though he were the first Frenchman they had ever seen, is to place undue emphasis on a casual encounter." Our author adds, what one less thoroughly grounded in the subject might not have added: "Henry Hudson's discovery, the year of the finding of Lake Champlain, of the Hudson River and the subsequent Dutch colony settled upon its banks, in reality created the situation that ultimately brought about the Iroquois wars."

There are adequate chapters on the fur-traders, their methods and influence; a useful review of early mining in the Northwest; and an admirably full index. The accuracy which one has learned to expect in Miss Kellogg's work characterizes this book. One slip we note on page 134, where "Fort Dover, Ontario", appears for Port Dover. The index repeats this error. There are many ports in that neighborhood, but never a fort.

FRANK H. SEVERANCE.

La Découverte du Missouri et l'Histoire du Fort d'Orléans, 1673-1728. By Baron Marc de Villiers. (Paris, Champion, 1925, pp. 138.) The scholarly author of the well-known *Les Dernières Années de la Louisiane Française* has given us, in this well-documented study in an obscure chapter of Western history, the latest fruit of his always illuminating researches. In the opening pages Marquette and Jolliet are pointed out as the first Europeans, not only "à decrire" the Missouri

River, but even "à contempler ses eaux limoneuses" (p. 4). Further, the point is established, as against the school of Margry, "qu' aucun Européen n'avait, avant Marquette et Jolliet, navigué sur le Mississippi du Wisconsin à l' Ohio" (p. 18). The earliest recorded visits of Europeans to the valley of the Missouri are carefully registered, many new and important data in this connection being set before the reader. The twentieth-century baron dismisses peremptorily the alleged presence of the seventeenth-century baron, Lahontan, on the Missouri (p. 28). De Villiers's researches in the French archives may be supplemented in some points from archival material on this side of the water. Thus the casual reference to the departure of twenty Canadians from Tamaroas (Cahokia) "découvrir le Nouveau Mexique" (p. 35) fails to stress the importance of this expedition of March, 1702, which would appear to have been the first regularly organized expedition of white men known to have gone up the Missouri. Some light, meagre but precious, is thrown upon it in contemporary correspondence from Cahokia now in the archives of Laval University, Quebec. Again, the claim is made for the ensign Darac that he was the first officer "qui navigua [1710] sans doute sur le Missouri" (p. 39). Whether or not an officer at the date of the adventure, Derbanne, commandant at Natchitoches, in an unpublished memoir of 1724 in the Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago, declares that almost eighteen years previously (1706) he explored the Missouri for 400 leagues from its mouth, setting a record for upstream navigation of that waterway by the French.

The bulk of the baron's book is taken up with Bourghmond's explorations of the Missouri and the story of Fort Orleans established by that officer in 1723. Two valuable documents from the Archives Hydrographiques, one a log of Bourghmond's voyage on the Missouri as far as the Platte in 1714, and the other a description of the Missouri Valley, also apparently from the same officer, are printed for the first time. The author's careful topographical study of the site of Fort Orleans places it, not on an island, according to the traditional view, but on a peninsula on the north bank of the Missouri, a few miles above the Wakenda River, in Carroll County, Missouri. The alleged massacre of the fort's garrison by the Indians is rejected; but Houck in his standard *History of Missouri* (Chicago, 1908) had already stripped it of any historical basis. Baron de Villiers's book shows surprisingly few slips for one working at long range from the physical setting of his story. For one thing, the head of the steamboat navigation on the Missouri is, or was, not at the Niobrara (p. 63), but at Fort Benton, much higher up. All in all, one can not but congratulate the indefatigable researcher on his admirable contributions to the history of the Trans-Mississippi West in the French régime. As indicating how American history-workers seem to lag behind in this particular field, it may be noted that part of the important material utilized in the book under review has for years been available in the photostated

material from the French archives to be found in the Library of Congress and in that of the University of Illinois.

GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN.

George Croghan and the Westward Movement, 1741-1782. By Albert T. Volwiler. [Early Western Journals, III.] (Cleveland, Arthur H. Clark Company, 1926, pp. 370, \$6.00.) The author of this account of the life and services of George Croghan has produced a commendable work. For the first time the career of this significant American frontiersman is set forth in a work that has been executed with scientific precision. It is a painstaking and an accurate study, based upon a wide variety of printed and manuscript sources. The successive stages in Croghan's career as trader from the province of Pennsylvania to the Western Indians; as Indian agent for the same province; as deputy superintendent of Indian affairs for the Northern District, under Sir William Johnson; and finally as land speculator on a large scale, are treated in successive chapters. Approximately one-half of the volume is concerned with Croghan's activities as trader and colonial Indian agent, including an analysis of the character of the Indian trade and its management, the rivalry of the colonies in trade, Indian diplomacy, and the British occupation of the West.

Viewed as separate studies these chapters add little to our knowledge as to the facts and their interpretation. But such a marshalling of facts is obviously essential for an interpretation of one of the central figures in those weary years of border intrigue and warfare. Croghan was an outstanding personality in the whole period—Mr. Volwiler is quite certain that his hero was the most significant figure of the time. His life in America certainly touches, in an important sense, almost every phase of activity in the West.

After his retirement from active service in the Indian department Croghan began a long career as land speculator. It is in connection with this phase of the subject, in which many new facts are set forth, that one is impressed with the solid contribution of the author. He has threaded his way through an intricate maze of plots and counter-plots of big business to acquire an interest in the exploitation of western land, in all of which Croghan was a typical figure. But like many of that day and later he realized only poverty as a result of his labors.

The volume contains three well-executed maps designed to illustrate the text, an extensive bibliography of sources, and a very satisfactory index. A very few minor slips are to be noted. The designation "Secretary of War" (p. 263) should be "Secretary of State". Gage was commander-in-chief of the British forces in America from 1763 to 1775 and not from 1763 to 1772 (note 188). There is an incorrect citation of a reference in note 185. There are likewise a few departures from uniformity in the citation of references.

C. E. CARTER.

The Genesis of the Constitution of the United States of America. By Breckinridge Long, A.B., M.A., LL.D. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1926, pp. 260, \$2.50.) The purpose is to trace from the beginnings of colonial settlement in English America the genesis and growth of certain principles and devices finally embodied in the Constitution of the United States. The author took up the subject because he felt that its importance demanded greater attention than is usually accorded to it. We agree that it is a theme of importance. The strength and vitality of the Constitution in large measure rests upon the regard shown by the framers for the lines of the past. We commend the author for his evolutionary conception of the Constitution, for his desire to bring its derived features into the clear relief which they deserve, but it is fair to say that the result is rather disappointing.

The presentation is very labored in method, content, and language. It can not be said that the work lies within the domain of original and exact scholarship. One finds a lot of information found elsewhere and a lot of misinformation one regrets to find anywhere. Here is a tithe of the evidence on the latter score: "government in New England was always responsive to the popular will"; the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut "combined three towns into a federal government"; Maryland was a "colony in which the predominating membership was Catholic"; "Maryland was really more autonomous than most of the colonies".

There is a mistaken tendency to see in colonial history analogues of the federal Constitution, all of which points to the conclusion that the author does not have a clear conception of the essence of federalism. One may seriously question the statement that "the lineal ancestor of our United States Senator was the Delegate from the town under the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut". It is a very difficult matter to reason by historical analogy, but it presents no difficulty to the author.

The author has relied for his facts and ideas upon the older historians, Bancroft, Grahame, Story. He is unacquainted with Osgood and the wealth of more recent and scholarly productions, and thereby has not saved himself from falling into grave errors of fact and view. It does not even appear that he knows of the excellent studies on the same theme published years ago, for there is no citation of Fisher, Stevens, Robinson, and others on the derived features of the Constitution.

We regret to say that the book is of small value to the student and is not likely to have much appeal to the lay reader.

W. T. Roor.

The Usages of the American Constitution. By Herbert W. Horwill, M.A. (London and New York, Oxford University Press, 1925, pp. ix, 251, 10 s. 6d.) The author selects this title to describe the changes which have been wrought in the Constitution of the United States by the customs of political parties in operating the machinery of government.

In so far as the book surveys the well-known usages by which the transformation of the electoral college, the development of the Cabinet, the rise of "senatorial courtesy", and the lodgment of a power of removal in the President have been accomplished, a valuable service of abstracting and compiling has been performed. But when the author departs from the beaten path he stumbles into the pitfalls that beset the writer who depends upon secondary authorities for his materials. In the end he allows himself to be victimized by a set of ideas regarding the United States Supreme Court that have been wholly discredited on this side of the Atlantic.

An acquaintance with Farrand's *Records of the Federal Convention* would have shown Mr. Horwill that the democratic spirit of our people was fully understood at Philadelphia. Instead of seeking "to bottle up popular rights for all time", the framers aimed at the reconciliation of democracy with the security of private rights. It would have revealed also the fact that we adopted the principle of representation as a substitute for legislation by direct action of the people. With this theory the usage of selecting a member of the House of Representatives from the district in which he resides is not only consistent but also appropriate.

It is undoubtedly true that "the strength of any usage, in short, depends upon an overwhelming sentiment in its favor". One might suppose that the recognition of this truth would lead the author to appreciate the function of the Supreme Court in the interpretation of the Constitution. The process of adapting the Constitution to changing circumstances, whether it be done by judges or by legislators, is neither usurpation nor evasion. It does not make the fundamental law "the plaything of judicial tribunals" or nullify "the guarantees on which Hamilton laid such stress". For whatever changes are made must be supported by a preponderant public opinion.

If it be conceded that government in the United States rests on opinion, it is difficult to see why the Supreme Court should be criticized because it "has no occasion for pronouncing any act of Congress invalid if it is unanimously supported by public opinion, or for condemning an official act in which there is unbroken confidence". Any other situation would involve a denial of popular government. Finally, if in time of war the safeguards provided by the Constitution for individual liberties "were virtually, though not avowedly, under a moratorium", it is significant that protests came only from those who sought to circulate the currency of disloyalty.

The book is very well written and offers stimulating suggestions in the matter of style and arrangement that might well be followed by American writers.

WILLIAM S. CARPENTER.

Progress and the Constitution. By Newton D. Baker. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925, pp. 94, \$1.25.) This small volume contains
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tains three lectures delivered by an eminent lawyer before the Law School of the University of Virginia on the William H. White foundation. They probably were admirably adapted to the audience and the occasion; whether they will be very useful in printed form is more questionable. The doubt arises from the fact that they are, it would seem, though suggestive and stimulating, a bit too technical in places for the general reader and, on the other hand, somewhat too popular for one versed in the elements of the law. Progress affecting constitutional construction is defined, not as improvement, but simply as change fundamental enough to affect the relations of men and so thorough as to leave the world different in its motives and resting on new moral foundations. The definition indicates the purpose of the lectures to be a presentation of the adaption of the written Constitution to the needs of a people rapidly increasing in numbers and subjected to the moral and material influences of a developing social and industrial order.

It is probably fair to say that the author has done as much as he could expect to do in the allotted time and space; but one is tempted to inquire whether he might not have been more effective, if he had confined himself to a few of the topics. The method of electing the President, the trouble between the executive and the Senate, the right of the House to independent action and judgment when a treaty is made involving co-operation of the House for its execution—all these are important, but they seem to carry us away from the essential difficulty of adapting a rigid document to the social needs of a changing world. The skeptical critic may properly find fault or not be quite content with some of Mr. Baker's assertions, necessarily hastily stated. I doubt, to give one example, that "the power upheld in the State of Illinois in *Munn vs. Illinois* to regulate, in the public interest, property affected with a public use has been transferred, by the silent operation of interstate expansion, to the Federal Government". The extension of Congressional authority, under the guise of regulating commerce, to the control or regulation of activities which offend public morals or are contrary to public interest, is the very heart of the subject under discussion, and the topic deserves careful and illuminating treatment.

A. C. McL.

Leading Constitutional Decisions. By Robert Eugene Cushman, Professor of Government in Cornell University. (New York, F. S. Crofts and Company, 1925, pp. vi, 288, \$2.00.) We have here, not the usual case-book in constitutional law, but a limited selection of important decisions intended for the needs of college courses in the American government. Significant portions of forty-four decisions are marshalled in nine chapters according to a logical arrangement of subject-matter. Though the contents of the volume can not be indicated here, it may be noted that the well-known legal classics are included, and that about one-

third of the cases belong to the last ten years. One finds recent decisions of the Supreme Court disallowing popular referendums on amendments to the federal Constitution; declaring that the second-jeopardy rule is not violated when both state and federal prosecutions are instituted under prohibition laws for the same offense; invalidating the "grandfather clause" intended to exclude negroes from the polls; holding that a state law forbidding writings which advocate anarchy is not a violation of the First Amendment; upholding the constitutionality of the Selective Service Act of 1917, and denying that of a Nebraska law forbidding the teaching of any subject in a language other than English. The general effect of reading the volume is to produce a feeling of respect for the American judiciary, and especially for the Supreme Court. One of the distinctive features of the book consists in the well-written editorial introduction which accompanies each case. These comments place the decisions in their settings and they also enable the editor to make brief mention of many cases that are omitted from the volume, thus pointing the way to further study. Among the interesting editorial comments which Professor Cushman makes is the statement (p. 161) that "no very calamitous results would have ensued" if the Supreme Court had never asserted its power to declare acts of Congress invalid. On the whole the book seems to the reviewer admirably suited to its purpose, as Professor Cushman's able specialization in this field would have led us to anticipate. When another edition is issued, its convenience might be increased by the inclusion of a topical analysis, an index, and possibly the Constitution itself.

J. G. RANDALL.

Under the Black Horse Flag: Annals of the Weld Family and Some of its Branches. By Isabel Anderson, Litt.D. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1926, pp. x, 291, \$4.00.) The Black Horse is the house flag of the Weld family. Once it floated from the largest fleet of sailing ships in the American merchant marine; now it is the private signal of numerous yachts. The social historian will follow with interest the steady progress of this New England family, from pioneer poverty to wealth and public service, by way of forecastle, quarterdeck, country-house, railroad development, and high finance.

S. E. M.

The Barnburners: a Study of the Internal Movements in the Political History of New York State and the Resulting Changes in Political Affiliation, 1830-1852. By Herbert D. A. Donovan, Ph.D. (New York, New York University Press, 1925, pp. viii, 140, \$3.32.) Mr. Donovan has confined himself to a narrower field than his subtitle implies. It might be more accurately described as a history of the internal movements in New York as they affected the Democratic Party and the resulting

changes in that party in the state from 1830 to 1852, with occasional allusions to the effect of the same influences upon the rival party. The restricted scope has been an advantage rather than otherwise. For here, for once, we have a thorough and satisfactory treatment of a very interesting epoch in American political history. The author's conclusions will have to be carefully considered by every writer upon this period. They may be briefly summarized as: (1) that the division of the Democratic Party in New York began over a *real difference in principles*, the radicals or Barnburners advocating restriction on public works, and economy and safety in state finance; (2) that the radicals came in process of conflict with the national administration to espouse Free-Soil principles, and the Wilmot Proviso in particular; (3) that the connection with Martin Van Buren's cause was more incidental than fundamental, Van Buren and his followers having taken advantage of a popular movement, adopted its principles, and augmented by their adhesion its vitality and popularity; (4) that the failure in the end was partly due to the movement's being in advance of its time and partly to faulty leadership; (5) and finally, that the movement contributed to the break-up of the ruling Democratic Party in New York and to the creation of the Republican Party in the old Barnburner districts. Mr. Donovan gives a new interest to the personality of John Van Buren. "Had he seized his fortune at the flood and gone in heart and soul to the Free-Soil movement, his own history and that of the country would doubtless have been different." He might have had Fremont's choice. Couldn't he have made more of it than did Fremont? If he had, what of Lincoln's chance?

The author's handling of the evidence is impressive for thoroughness and skill. It does not appear that he has overlooked any important manuscript or printed sources in the accumulation of his material. It is difficult to see how any further evidence is likely to disturb the soundness of his conclusions. A judicious use of foot-notes and an excellent critical bibliography attest to the author's methods and exhaustive survey of the literature of the period. The appendix contains two interesting maps representing the geographical distribution of the Barnburners and the Hunkers.

ELBERT J. BENTON.

Israel, Elihu, and Cadwallader Washburn, a Chapter in American Biography. Compiled by Gaillard Hunt. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1925, pp. vi, 397, \$3.50.) These are unfinished sketches, begun by Gaillard Hunt in the hope of covering the lives of all the seven sons of Israel Washburn. The distractions of war interfered with his completion of the task, and his own death seems to have deprived of final revision those biographies that were finished. It was an opportunity that an historical portrayer of biographies must have welcomed, for out of the Washburn brothers came four congressmen and a senator, a major-general

and two governors, and two ministers to foreign parts. Ability and luck held them together in a loyal family, with an accumulation of distinction unusual in the United States. And it adds to the picture, to realize that, starting with little but a Maine ancestry and their own ambition, they severally acquired not only competence but wealth.

For six years before 1861 three of them, the three whose lives are here, Israel, Elihu, and Cadwallader, sat in Congress from the states of Maine, Illinois, and Wisconsin. Israel had remained at home. The two others joined the rush of the early forties, and pushed out to the lead region of the Upper Mississippi, where Elihu took to law and Cadwallader to banking and speculation. The sketches give a slender outline of the career of each of them, illustrated by casual letters that suggest either that they were put together in a perfunctory way, or that the manuscripts upon which Mr. Hunt worked were scrappy in character. He had access to a large collection of the Elihu Washburn papers, now in the Library of Congress; but it does not appear that he made much use of the bulky Woodman papers which contain records of many of the business transactions of Cadwallader in southwest Wisconsin. These are now in the State Historical Library of Wisconsin.

The letters that are printed relate more often to distinguished events than to important episodes in the lives of the writers. We have no clear account of Elihu's services in Congress, where he became the "father of the House", but we have detailed notes of his observations at Bull Run and Spotsylvania. We have little that reveals the career of Cadwallader as congressman, major-general, or governor of Wisconsin, but there are a number of comments on politics and letters about jobs. Where the Washburns touched Grant, Lincoln, or Blaine, the story is told. Its blanks are at the spots where it might have shown the foundations of their success among the competitive conditions of frontier business and politics.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

A History of Florida, from the Treaty of 1763 to Our Own Times. By Caroline Mays Brevard. [Publications of the Florida State Historical Society, IV.] Volume II. *Florida as a State.* (Deland, Fla., the Society, 1925, pp. viii, 307.) This second volume of the late Miss Brevard's work, brought out in the same handsome form as its predecessor, is occupied mostly with the period of the Civil War and Reconstruction. The period of Florida history from 1845 to 1861 is of but moderate interest, and Miss Brevard could hardly make a captivating story of it, and did not; nor did she expound with much insight the party struggles and other political phenomena, though she had a good grasp of the financial history of the state, and pictures many aspects of its antebellum civilization with the eye and hand of a cultivated lady. Her narrative of the years from 1877 to 1912 covers the main events without

entering strongly into the story of economic development. The major portion of the volume, dealing with the Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida, is not only full, substantial, and intelligent, but is marked by singular fairness, tolerance, and amiable appreciation of various points of view. The dark story of Reconstruction is told frankly but without rancor. Miss Brevard's text, with the many full and careful annotations of the editor, Dr. James A. Robertson, fills two-thirds of the volume. Among the appendixes, the chief is a vigorous Unionist letter of General Richard K. Call, February 12, 1861, reprinted from a pamphlet of that year. The index (to the two volumes) is very elaborate.

The Story of Durham, City of the New South. By William Kenneth Boyd, Professor of History in Duke University. (Durham, N. C., Duke University Press, 1925, pp. xi, 345, \$3.00.) The story of Durham is an epitome of the story of the New South. Durham has no ante-bellum history; in 1870 its population was 256, in 1925 it was 42,258. From its beginnings it has been an industrial community. In 1870 one-half of its population were wage-earners, in 1925 one-fifth. Between these two dates capital invested in manufacturing in Durham increased from \$25,000 to \$48,500,000. As Professor Boyd points out, "modern Durham received its impetus to growth just after the Civil War. It is therefore typical of that new economic life and those new social forces that have arisen in the South since 1865". In all its essential features the story of Durham is the story of Winston-Salem, of Atlanta, of Birmingham, and of dozens of other industrial cities of the South that arose after 1865 upon the ruins of the old slaveholding agricultural régime.

The book contains fifteen chapters. Those dealing with religion, education, health, philanthropy, social and civic organizations, and government are interesting studies in small-city affairs; those on the origin and development of the tobacco and textile industries, involving the story of "Bull Durham", the Dukes, and the American Tobacco Company, are valuable contributions to American economic history.

A noteworthy feature of the book is the recognition of the fact that contributions to the development of this Southern city "have not been confined to one race". Durham contains about 5000 negroes whose relations with the whites Dr. Booker Washington once described as the "sanest" he had found in any Southern community. The results are seen in the remarkable social and economic progress of the negroes in Durham. Professor Boyd's chapter on the Negro in Durham is an excellent and illuminating study of race relations in the South at their best.

The book as a whole differs as far as possible from the ordinary local history. Indeed, its appeal is not in any sense dependent upon one's interest in this particular community, for Durham is merely the medium through which a trained and competent historian interprets the forces that underlie the revival of the South after the debacle of the 'sixties.

R. D. W. CONNOR.

Virginia War Agencies, Selective Service, and Volunteers. Edited by Arthur Kyle Davis. [Publications of the Virginia War History Commission, source volume IV.] (Richmond, Executive Committee, 1926, pp. xv, 480.) Along with many lists, some documents, and some statistical material this volume presents, to the extent of nearly half its contents, detailed and intelligent historical accounts of the organization and operation of the first and second Virginia Councils of Defense and the women's committees that accompanied them, of the federal food and fuel administrations of Virginia, of the operations of the selective draft in that state, of the Virginia State Volunteers, created to take the place of the militia, and of the Home Guards. The activities of these bodies are described with appreciation and at times with enthusiasm, but the compiler has not avoided the expressing, at times, of intelligent criticism. The Virginia War History Commission has shown exceptional activity in this work, and is making a strikingly complete exhibit of war-time activities. It will be valued by the historian of the future when he comes to recount the history of a war which, to a degree hitherto unprecedented in America, enlisted all the forces of the nation.

Purdue University: Fifty Years of Progress. By William Murray Hepburn, Librarian, and Louis Martin Sears, Professor of History. (Indianapolis, the Hollenbeck Press, 1925, pp. vi, 203.) Histories of colleges and universities are written primarily for their alumni and friends, and inevitably contain much that will not interest others. This book, however, partly because of the subject, partly because of the treatment, also has much to attract the interest of a wider circle of readers. Purdue University, the authors say in their preface, "was founded on the principle that technical and scientific culture serves as rich a purpose as the more conventional and classical". It was an early example of its type, and was and is Indiana's "land-grant college", though it did not begin operations till a dozen years after the passage of the Morrill Act of 1862. Students of the history of education will not fail to be interested in the development of such an experiment, from the feeble beginnings of 1874, with 46 students, to the present enrollment of more than three thousand. Furthermore, the book is written with intelligence and humor, appreciatively and without boasting, by writers who have too much knowledge of the academic world at large, and too much common sense, to tell their story in a provincial spirit.

Enquête sur les Livres Scolaires d'après Guerre. [Dotation Carnegie pour la Paix Internationale.] Vol. I., *France, Belgique, Allemagne, Autriche, Grande-Bretagne, Italie, Bulgarie.* (Paris, Centre Européen de la Dotation Carnegie, 1925, pp. 452.) The Paris organization of the Carnegie Endowment has undertaken a service useful to historical teaching, and quite in the line of its own declared purposes, in causing reports to be prepared on the extent to which the teaching of history in schools,

and particularly the text-books used, have been modified by considerations growing out of the experiences of the war. American teachers will find the book very interesting, and one to provoke a good deal of thought. There are indeed inevitable limitations to its value. Those who report on recent text-books and school instruction in Germany are Frenchmen, and though chapters on the other countries are made by natives of those countries, the tone of the book is prevailingly French, though it is that of Frenchmen having the "international mind" and high purposes. Moreover, in the teaching of history in European schools the text-book is of less importance, the teacher's own personality counts for more, than under American methods, yet it is easier to form judgments respecting text-books which can be seen than respecting the multitudes of teachers who can not be seen. Still further, it seems not certain (*e.g.*, in the British case) that the text-books described are typical of the ones, or are the ones, most used. This thought has applications elsewhere. Much is heard, in England, and in Anglophile quarters, of the harm done by American school-books of history by maintaining and fostering an attitude of hostility toward Great Britain; but among the text-books most widely used, is there one that can be justly said to do this? If so, the reviewer has not seen it.

COMMUNICATIONS

THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Sir: As a friend of the late Professor Mason Whiting Tyler, and knowing something of the devoted labors of those who aided in the publication of his last book, I should like to point out two errors in Professor Langer's review of *The European Powers and the Near East, 1875-1908*. Chapter X. was written by Professor G. S. Ford. Professor Earle was kind enough to read it. This fact is stated in the editorial preface. Such volumes of *Die Grosse Politik der Europäischen Kabinette* as were available at the time were used by the author. This is indicated both in the introduction and in the foot-notes. If the editors preferred to use Professor Tyler's cautious judgments (to which the reviewer objects) instead of interpreting the complicated diplomacy of the Near East on the basis of material from the archives of only one of the many powers involved, that was a matter of considered choice. Any other course would have done injustice to the very careful and impartial quality of Professor Tyler's scholarship. Indeed, his own comment might well have been taken into consideration by the reviewer: "For in this problem of the Near East are bound up interests vital to many countries. . . . This fact is the beginning of wisdom in the affairs of the Near East" (p. 1 n.).

A. C. KREY.

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA,
MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Sir: Will you kindly permit the editors of *Sketches of Eighteenth Century America* to reply in part to the review of this book published in the last issue of the *American Historical Review*?

The reviewer said: "The aim 'to retain scrupulously Crèvecoeur's meaning' will not be quite satisfying when students of history wish to seize upon a definite fact. The question is sure to arise: 'Is this what Crèvecoeur actually said?' Historians will keep on wishing that the historical value of the papers had been kept more largely in view."

The editors of the Crèvecoeur manuscripts decided to deviate from the established rule of reproducing the text with the accuracy of a facsimile because of the peculiar problems which the manuscripts presented. They believe that the best interests of scholarship are served by allowing editors discretion in the handling of texts. Discretion is commonly permitted an editor in the matter of omissions—though omissions may seriously warp the author's meaning. Furthermore, it is customary to permit an editor to modify punctuation, and punctuation is vital to the meaning

of an author. The editors of the Crèvecoeur manuscripts found many words scarcely intelligible, grammar which could be unravelled only by long study, and ambiguous punctuation. Crèvecoeur was a Frenchman who in certain respects was quite illiterate, who was influenced by his native tongue and by phonetic spellings induced by his environment in eighteenth-century America.

In each case the editors subjected the many doubtful passages to long study, and the results represent their combined judgments concerning Crèvecoeur's meaning. In a few cases where they could not agree, such doubt has been indicated in the text. It is their opinion, therefore, that except in the case of doubtful readings, which occur in almost any manuscript, the text as it stands is an exact reproduction of Crèvecoeur's meaning, and may be followed with confidence by historians.

The problem caused by Crèvecoeur's illiteracy raised the question whether the established rule should be followed. The editors of Crèvecoeur determined to modernize the spelling, and to correct the punctuation and the grammar wherever such correction could be made without changing the author's meaning. Grammatical construction, of which punctuation is a part, serves only the purpose of acting as a vehicle of thought. Faulty grammar is an impediment to the presentation of thought. The editors can see no difference in principle between correcting punctuation and altering adverbs, prepositions, and connectives to conform to the rules of grammatical construction. The purpose of both is to make the author's thought more easily accessible to the reader. Crèvecoeur's writing is not compact. One must read a great deal of him to get the full value out of these really extraordinary writings. To make such extensive reading easy the editors suppressed from the text Crèvecoeur's peculiarities of orthography and errors in punctuation and grammar. The evidential value of such textual peculiarities seemed to the editors to have a bearing only on Crèvecoeur's eccentric philology. They made an extended statement of their mode of procedure in a note on the text.

RALPH H. GABRIEL,
STANLEY T. WILLIAMS.

YALE UNIVERSITY,
April 29, 1926.

THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Dear Sir: As stated in the last sentence of the above rejoinder, the editors of the book did, to be sure, make "an extended statement of their mode of procedure in a note on the text". It was some of the expressions in this note (quoted in the review), and the paucity of annotations in such a difficult text, that gave the reviewer pause.

The above rejoinder quite confirms the impression. The reference to "many doubtful passages", the policy of altering "adverbs, prepositions, and connectives", unless indicated in the text would make any historian uneasy.

A more generous use of *verbatim et literatim* quotations in "doubtful passages" would often be to historical students a present help in time of trouble. The need is the more pressing in this case because the original manuscripts are so inaccessible to American students. Many an important historical fact has hung upon "adverbs, prepositions, and connectives", just as legal questions have hung upon the placing of commas.

The avowed aim of the editors was "to make the manuscript readable" (p. 36). It seemed best "to present these sketches for their literary rather than their philological merit" (p. 38). There is no statement in the "Note on the Text" of a purpose to capitalize the historical value of the papers. It was for these reasons that the reviewer wrote: "Historians will keep on wishing that the historical value of the papers had been kept more largely in view."

As to the scrupulous care and the great skill of the editors in carrying out their policy the reviewer has entertained not the slightest doubt.

R. W. KELSEY.

HAVERFORD, PENNSYLVANIA.

HISTORICAL NEWS

By reason of delays for which neither the editor nor the Lancaster Press is responsible, the General Index to vols. XXI.–XXX. of the *Review* will be delayed in publication till some time in August. Copies can then be obtained from the publishers, the Macmillan Company, in paper covers or in the regular binding of the *Review* (black half-morocco).

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

It is hoped that the *Annual Report* for 1921 will be distributed during the summer, and that for 1922 not much later, though the present scale of charges at the Government Printing Office makes it impossible, with the Association's present appropriations, to make rapid progress per annum. The *Annual Report* for 1923 will include that portion of the Austin Papers, edited by Professor Eugene C. Barker, which runs from January, 1828, to September, 1834. The University of Texas Press expects to publish during the summer the final volume of the Austin Papers, October, 1834, to December, 1836.

The American Council of Learned Societies has issued no. 5 of its *Bulletins*. It contains the minutes of its annual meeting, January 23 last, and of the meetings of its executive committee before and since, of the conferences of secretaries of the constituent societies, and of the annual meeting of the Union Académique Internationale in May, 1925. Reports of the committees on medieval Latin studies, on a dictionary of late medieval British Latin, on the cataloguing of foreign manuscripts in American libraries, and on the *Dictionary of American Biography* are also included.

By an arrangement in the nature of exchange between the American Historical Association and the English Historical Association, one hundred copies of a pamphlet by Professor W. J. Harte, of University College, Exeter, on *Foreign Policy and the Dominions*, published by the latter association, have been placed at the service of members of the former body. They are now at the office of this journal, and will be sent, individually, to any members of the Association who may request them by letter addressed to J. F. Jameson, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington.

THE ENDOWMENT FUND

On behalf of the Committee on Endowment, Professor Buck makes the following report of progress:

The work of the Association and its needs and possibilities have been brought before the public through articles, communications, and notes in a number of magazines both general and special, and through news stories in the press throughout the country. That this publicity is having a good

(850)

effect on the public mind is evident in the fact that over forty newspapers, on their own initiative, have endorsed the endowment project in their editorial columns.

The work of organization has gone forward as rapidly as possible in view of the limited staff available at headquarters and of the many calls upon the time of the men upon whom the committee must rely in the various states and districts. At the present writing five state or district committees have been completely organized and are functioning, and twenty-one others are in various stages of organization. The only systematic canvass that has been made as yet is that of the Columbia University committee, in which the local committee secured subscriptions of about \$5000 from some fifty members of the faculty and graduate students, most of them in amounts of \$100. If the other academic centres do as well proportionally, prospective donors will be convinced that the professional members of the Association are ready to give both of their time and of their limited means for the cause.

For New York City a strong committee has been organized, with Hon. Charles E. Hughes as its chairman, and the campaign there was launched by a dinner on May 27 attended by about one hundred people. Judge Hughes, Mr. Dwight Morrow, and Professor Evarts B. Greene were the hosts at this dinner; the addresses were delivered by Senator Albert J. Beveridge and Professor Edward P. Cheyney. Of the other committees, one of the most active is that for Indiana, which gave a dinner on June 4 attended by about sixty people. Subscriptions made on that occasion, combined with some that had previously been made, brought the total for Indiana up to \$10,000. The Minnesota committee also arranged for a luncheon to be held on June 10.

Some of the committees will proceed with their campaigns immediately, but in most of the states and districts it seems advisable to postpone the general canvass until fall, utilizing the summer for making plans, perfecting organization, and developing publicity. The general committee has strong hopes, however, that all the campaigns will have been completed and the fund subscribed before the next annual meeting of the Association.

PERSONAL

Edmund Munroe Smith, Bryce professor emeritus of European legal history in Columbia University, died on April 13, at the age of seventy-one. He had been for forty-five years a member of the Columbia faculty, and edited during a long period the *Political Science Quarterly*. In 1898 he published a volume on *Bismarck and German Unity* (second ed., 1910); he was a frequent contributor to this journal of reviews of historical books on the Bismarckian period.

Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, librarian of the Illinois State Historical Library since 1898, secretary and treasurer of the Illinois State Historical Society, and editor of its *Journal* since its beginning in 1908, died on

May 31. A daughter of the late John M. Palmer, general, governor, and senator, she was deeply interested in the history of Illinois, and along those lines of interest served the state with faithfulness and energy.

To mark the fortieth anniversary of Henri Pirenne's professorship in the University of Ghent a volume of historical studies has been prepared by his former students and his friends, Belgian and foreign, nearly sixty in number. Subscriptions to this volume of *Mélanges Pirenne* (of about 600 pages, \$3.75 for U. S.) may be sent to Vromant and Company, 3, rue de la Chapelle, Brussels. In the list of contents, French and English, we note papers by Sir William Ashley on the English Improvers; by Father Hippolyte Delehaye on the legend of St. Napoleon; by Professors L. Halphen on the conquest of the Mediterranean by the Europeans in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; C. H. Haskins on a formulary of the twelfth century; H. Hauser on the economic ideas of Calvin; J. Huizinga on Edward IV. in exile; M. Rostovtzeff on rural and urban conditions in the early Roman Empire; C. Stephenson on seigniorial tallage in England; T. F. Tout on the English Parliament and public opinion, 1376-1388.

Professor R. H. Lord will be absent from Harvard University during the year and his courses will be taken by Professors C. K. Webster of the University of Wales and W. L. Langer of Clark College.

Professor Evarts B. Greene has been appointed to the newly created DeWitt Clinton professorship of American history in Columbia University, and Professor William R. Shepherd has been named Seth Low professor of history in succession to Professor William M. Sloane. The following professors of that university will be on leave of absence during the whole or a part of the coming academic year: W. L. Westermann, who will be in charge of the American School in Rome; E. B. Greene, who will be working in Washington during the winter session; C. J. H. Hayes, who during the spring session will conduct research in Paris for the Columbia University Council for Research in the Social Sciences; and C. D. Hazen, who will be working in France during the spring session.

Professor C. W. David, of Bryn Mawr College, who has been granted leave of absence for the academic year 1926-1927, will spend a portion of the year working in the archives of France and England.

Dr. J. Fred Rippy of the University of Chicago has been appointed professor of history in Duke University, where he will assist in the editorial work of the *Hispanic American Historical Review*. Dr. Paul N. Garber has resigned as assistant professor of American history and is to become professor of church history and head of that department in the new School of Religion which begins at Duke University next September.

Mr. R. B. Mowat of Oxford, who has been teaching in the University of Wisconsin during the past year, teaches in the University of Washington during the present summer quarter. Others who take part in the work of the same history department are Professors Walter N. Sage,

of the University of British Columbia, William W. Sweet, of De Pauw University, Frank A. Williams, of Phillips College, and F. Lee Benms, of Indiana State University.

We note the following promotions and appointments: *New Hampshire University*, A. W. Jones to be assistant professor of history; *Harvard University*, George LaPiana to be professor of church history, L. R. Miller to be assistant professor of history; *Tufts College*, R. S. Fletcher to be assistant professor of history; *Yale University*, G. M. Dutcher of Wesleyan University and R. L. Schuyler of Columbia University to be visiting professors of history, R. V. Harlow of Boston University and J. S. M. Allison to be associate professors of history, P. D. Evans and E. R. Goodenough to be assistant professors of history; *Wesleyan University*, H. C. Bell of Bowdoin College to be professor of history, L. W. Lancaster to be associate professor of history; *Columbia University*, Mikhail Rostovtzeff of Yale University, Bernard Faÿ of the University of Clermont-Ferrand, and S. B. Fay of Smith College to be lecturers in history—the two latter during the spring session only, A. P. Evans, P. T. Moon, H. J. Carman, and E. M. Earle to be associate professors of history, J. A. Krout to be assistant professor of history; *New York University*, Alexander Baltzly to be associate professor of history, I. S. Harrell and Harold Hulme to be assistant professors of history; *University of Buffalo*, J. W. Pratt of Rutgers College to be professor of American history; *Guilford College* (N. C.), J. C. Russell to be professor of history; *University of Texas*, F. B. Marsh and C. W. Hackett to be professors of ancient history and Latin-American history, respectively; *University of Cincinnati*, B. W. Bond, jr., and G. A. Hedger to be professors of history, and M. B. Urban to be assistant professor of history; *Purdue University*, Victor Albjerg of the University of Wisconsin to be assistant professor of history; *University of Nebraska*, C. H. Oldfather of Wabash College to be professor of ancient history, and J. D. Hicks to be head of the department of history; *University of Washington*, Eldon Griffin to be assistant professor of history (Asiatic); *University of California*, J. J. Van Nostrand to be associate professor of ancient history, and (*Southern Branch*) D. J. Bjork and N. V. Russell to be assistant professors of history.

The following appointments for summer schools are noted, in addition to those mentioned in our last number: Professors J. S. Bassett of Smith College, T. C. Collier of Brown University, C. J. Kraemer of New York University, Nathaniel Schmidt of Cornell University, E. H. McNeal of Ohio State University, H. E. Bourne of Western Reserve University, N. S. B. Gras of the University of Minnesota, and E. E. Robinson of Stanford University are to teach in Columbia University; F. M. Anderson of Dartmouth in the University of Michigan; Professor C. W. Hackett of the University of Texas, in the University of Chicago.

In a list of thirty-seven additional fellowships announced in April by the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation the following names of students of history are noted: Dr. Warren O. Ault, for research in the history of English local government; Dr. Herbert Feis, to study French and German foreign investments before the war; Dr. J. Penrose Harland, to investigate ancient civilization in Greece, Crete, and the Cyclades; Dr. Paul Knaplund, for studies of Gladstone's relations to the colonial empire; Dr. Marjorie Nicholson, for research in the history of English thought in the seventeenth century; Dr. Ephraim Speiser, for investigations of the Mitanni-Harri group of peoples in northern Mesopotamia; Dr. John Wade, for research in the early history of Georgia and Alabama.

GENERAL

The Public Buildings Act approved by the President on May 25 authorizes the expenditure of \$50,000,000 within the next five years in the erection of government buildings in the District of Columbia. It is taken for granted, when we go to press, that a suitable appropriation for the first year, beginning July 1, 1926, will be made in the Second Deficiency Appropriation Act, and the Public Buildings Commission, which has charge of the execution of these provisions in the District, has announced that a National Archive Building will have the first place in its programme. This announcement can not fail to be gratifying to members of the American Historical Association, which for eighteen years has been struggling to secure the erection of such a building, for, quite aside from all considerations of government business, and of the safe preservation of records, the concentration of the government archives into one suitable building, with orderly and scientific arrangement, will enormously facilitate the progress of historical studies in the United States.

The congressional session has also resulted in the usual appropriation of \$7000 for printing the *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association, and one of \$20,000 for carrying out, at the Department of State, Senator Ralston's act respecting the territorial papers. The effort, however, which the Department has made to secure an additional \$10,000 to be applied to the work on the series of volumes of *Foreign Relations*, in order that that series may begin to catch up its arrears of ten years, has been, with a strange lack of appreciation of the need of public education upon our foreign affairs, negatived by the Director of the Budget, the House, and the Senate, and at the moment of our writing has no chance unless through some last-minute amendment, which will be offered to the Second Deficiency Bill, but is not expected to succeed. Meantime, however, both House and Senate have cheerfully agreed to spend \$20,000, almost completely a waste of money, in the printing of a volume alleged to commemorate the Declaration of Independence. It will indeed contain the Declaration, but the main contents of the volume will be material respecting the Constitution (which it seems is somehow in danger; see

House Concurrent Resolution no. 23), and will mainly consist of the whole text of Madison's Debates, of which there are already three excellent editions in existence, not out of print, but still in stock to the extent of some 400 copies, besides 4000 already in the hands of libraries or other purchasers.

We think it proper also to call attention to a new copyright bill, which did not pass in the session now closing, but is understood to have good prospects in the House committee. The feature of this bill to which we desire to call attention, and which certainly ought to be modified, is a provision drafted distinctly in the interest of the publishers, and advocated on their behalf in the committee hearings by an important array of lawyers. This section, in which scholars should be especially interested, provides that, when any American publisher has copyrighted an English book, it shall be illegal for anyone else to import a copy of the book printed in England. Since it is the habit of publishers and importers, even under the present law, to charge forty and fifty cents a shilling for English books, the injury to the interests of scholars which would be inflicted by such a monopoly can easily be foreseen—to say nothing of the notorious fact that the American reprints of English books are often marked by shocking typographical errors, the re-composition which our laws require not being checked by good proof-reading.

We have received the very gratifying announcement that, by the liberality of Duke University, the *Hispanic American Historical Review* is enabled to resume publication, beginning with a number published in August of the present year. That number will be designated as vol. VI., nos. 1-3. Dr. James A. Robertson will undertake again the duties of managing editor. All friends of Hispanic American history, and all to whom it seems important to develop and improve cultural relations between the Americans of the United States and those of the countries to the southward, will rejoice in the revival of this useful and excellent journal, and will be grateful to Duke University for the aid which makes this possible.

The Grandees of Spain offer two prizes of 10,000 pesetas each for the best manuscripts written in Spanish upon the following subjects: First, an historical and archaeological monograph on one or more castles in Spain, this manuscript to be presented before February 1, 1928; second, a monograph on the viceroyalty of New Spain or of Peru, the manuscript to be presented before February 1, 1930. Manuscripts are to be addressed, under a *nom de plume*, to "His Excellency, the Duke of Fernan Nuñez, dean of the Grandees, Calle de Santa Isabel, 42, Madrid", the name and address of the author being sent therewith, in an envelope sealed with wax, bearing the *nom de plume*.

Mr. Leo Kohns, former president of the New York Board of Trade and Transportation, has endowed a chair of American history, civilization, and letters in the University of Paris (Sorbonne).

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The twenty-second International Congress of Americanists will be held in September, in Rome, at the Istituto Cristoforo Colombo.

The Pulitzer prize of \$2000 for the best book of the year 1925 upon the history of the United States has been awarded by the Columbia University School of Journalism to the sixth volume of Professor Edward Channing's *History of the United States*; the prize of \$1000 for "the best American biography teaching patriotic and unselfish services to the people, illustrated by an eminent example, excluding as too obvious the names of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln", was awarded to the *Life of Sir William Osler*, by Harvey Cushing.

An enterprise of moment to those concerned in its fields is the publication of a *Bibliographie Générale des Sciences Juridiques, Politiques, Économiques et Sociales de 1800 à 1925-1926* by A. Grandin. Vol. I. has been issued (Paris, Sirey, 1926, pp. 794); vol. II. was to appear in June, vol. III. in November. The edition is small and is sold by subscription; an annual supplement is contemplated.

The Duke University Press announces volumes by Arthur S. Aiton on *Antonio de Mendoza, First Viceroy of New Spain*; by W. H. Callcott on *Church and State in Mexico, 1822-1857*; by Frances E. Gillespie on *Labor and Politics in England, 1850-1867*; by Isaac S. Harrell on *Loyalism in Virginia*; by Charles E. Hill on the *Danish Sound Dues and the Command of the Baltic*; by J. L. Mecham on *Francisco de Ibarra, Conquistador, and the Founding of Nueva Vizcaya*; by L. M. Sears on *Jefferson and the Embargo*; and by R. H. Shryock on *Georgia and the Union in 1850*.

Translations and reprints of the best travel books of all ages are to appear in a new series under the title *The Broadway Travellers* (London, Routledge) edited by Sir Denison Ross and Miss Eileen Power. Among the early volumes will be *The Travels and Adventures of Pero Tafur, 1435-1439* (Spanish); *Akbar and the Jesuits*, from the *Histoire* of Father Pierre du Jarric, S. J.; *Travels in Tartary and Tibet*, by Fathers Huc and Gabet; *Don Juan of Persia*; a volume of selections from the *Travels of Ibn Batuta*; and Thomas Gage's *The English American*.

The Clarendon Press has printed as pamphlets the inaugural address of Professor Robert McElroy as Harmsworth professor of history, entitled *American History as an International Study*, and that of Maj.-Gen. Sir Ernest Swinton as Chichele professor of military history, on *The Study of War*.

The April number of the *Historical Outlook* contains an article by R. L. Jones of the University of Pittsburgh on the Genealogy of the Declaration of Independence. In the May number Theodore D. MacGregor discourses upon Our Adolescent Days: Glimpses of the Late '30's through the newspapers of Williamsburgh, N. Y.

The Teaching of History, by Paul Klapper, is a manual of method for elementary and junior high schools (Appleton).

Beiheft VI. of the *Historische Zeitschrift* is a study of *Rankes Begriff der Weltgeschichte* by H. Masur (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1926).

Race and History: an Ethnological Introduction to History, by Eugene Pittard, a recent addition to the series *History of Civilization* published in New York by Alfred A. Knopf, is a translation of *Les Races et l'Histoire* issued in M. Henri Berr's *L'Évolution de l'Humanité*, and reviewed by us in 1924 (XXX. 109). *Ancient Greece at Work: an Economic History of Greece from the Homeric Period to the Roman Conquest*, by Gustave Glotz, is a translation from quite another series (see XXVI. 493).

The *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society for the year ending April, 1925, includes a paper by Dr. Clarence W. Bowen on Samuel Dexter the elder and Samuel Dexter the younger, secretary of war and secretary of the treasury; one by Lawrence C. Wroth on Some Early French Guiana Tracts; one by Dr. Charles L. Nichols on Samuel Salisbury, Boston merchant; and one by Dr. Gardner W. Allen on Naval Songs and Ballads. Mr. Brigham's Bibliography of American Newspapers is carried through Tennessee and Vermont.

The American Society of Church History has compromised the difficulty which the constant holding of annual meetings in New York presents to a society of a membership so widely extended, by having a literary meeting in the West in some month of the spring. This year such a meeting was held at Eden Theological Seminary, Webster Groves, Mo., April 2 and 3. Papers were read on the Attitude of Early Christianity toward Paganism, the Acceptance of Christianity by the Roman Emperors, the Rise and Growth of Religious Bodies in Missouri Territory, and other themes.

By the generosity of the Archbishop of Baltimore, Most Rev. Dr. Michael J. Curley, a prize of \$1000 is offered to the writer of the best outline sketch of the history of Maryland from 1630 to 1790, of an extent between 15,000 and 25,000 words. Particulars may be learned by addressing the Baltimore Prize Committee, in care of the *Commonweal*, Grand Central Terminal, New York, to which manuscripts (typewritten) should be sent before February 1, 1927.

In anticipation of the Eucharistic Congress held in Chicago in June, the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* devotes the April number entirely to topics pertinent to the congress, including a History of Eucharistic Congresses, by Anthony Matré, and an article on the Historical Setting of the Eucharistic Congress, by Joseph J. Thompson.

The *Bulletin* of Friends' Historical Association, XV. 1, has an interesting article by Professor John W. Graham, of Swarthmore College, on "Early Friends and the Historical Imagination"; also an account, by Professor Henry J. Cadbury, of Harvard University, of the Quaker Aspects of the Norse-American Centennial of 1925, the first ship-load of emigrants from Norway, 1825, having been Friends from Stavanger.

Students of the treaty-making power will be interested in an article by M. Maurice Vauthier on "L'Article 68 de la Constitution Belge", in the *Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres*, 1926, 1-2, of the Académie Royale de Belgique.

The Repression of Crime: Studies in Historical Penology, by Professor Harry Elmer Barnes, is from the press of Doran.

Mr. Thomas P. de Graffenried is the author of a *History of the de Graffenried Family from 1191 A. D. to 1925* (the author, 42 Broadway, New York). The de Graffenrieds are one of the oldest families of Swiss origin in America, and one of the largest, and many scions of the family have taken prominent parts in American affairs.

Dr. Thomas O'Hagan's *With Staff and Scrip* (Toronto, Ryerson Press, pp. 156) combines the results of reading and travel in pleasing essays on Dante in Exile, Brittany, the Evolution of the Gothic Cathedral, and other topics.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. M. Trevelyan, *Some Points of Contrast between Medieval and Modern Civilisation* (History, April); F. J. Teggart, *Turgot's Approach to the Study of Man* (University of California Chronicle, April); Ernst Meister, *Die Geschichtsphilosophischen Voraussetzungen von J. G. Droysens Historik* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XXIII. 1); Franz Arens, *Karl Lamprecht, I.*, concl. (Preussische Jahrbücher, February, March); *id.*, *Ueber Karl Lamprechts Geschichtsauffassung* (Archiv für Politik und Geschichte, 1926, 3); Abel Doysié, *L'Institut Carnegie de Washington et les Archives Diplomatiques* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XL. 2).

ANCIENT HISTORY

The *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, edited by Professor Max Ebert of Königsberg (Berlin, de Gruyter), is a monumental work by many specialists; the first volume is dated 1924, the fifth has already been published, and the whole, which will run to at least ten volumes, is expected to reach completion during the current year.

The subtitle alone of Walter Otto's *Kulturgeschichte des Altertums: ein Ueberblick über Neue Erscheinungen* (Munich, Beck, 1925, pp. x, 175) indicates the true character of the book, which is based on a series of reviews and concerns chiefly matters of social and economic history in the pre-classical and post-classical periods.

Recent French excavations have cast a fresh light on various aspects of the life and culture of ancient Phoenicia, such as the origin of the alphabet, religion, art, and race; a fresh synthesis has been made by Dr. G. Contenau, attaché of the department of Oriental antiquities at the Louvre, in charge of archaeological work in Syria; his book is called *La Civilisation Phénicienne* (Paris, Payot, 1926, pp. 400).

Excavations at Carthage, 1925: a Preliminary Report, by Professor Francis W. Kelsey of the University of Michigan, a pamphlet of 51 pages, with excellent illustrations, gives an interesting account of the chief results of the work at Carthage in 1925 of the Franco-American staff working under the direction of Count Byron Khun de Prorok and under the auspices of the Washington Archaeological Society.

Dr. E. Norman Gardiner sums up the results of excavations which were begun just half a century ago in *Olympia: its History and Remains* (Oxford, Clarendon Press).

Despite its brevity, the *Römische Geschichte* of Friedrich Cauer (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1925, pp. viii, 208) is said to lack neither comprehensiveness nor originality.

An important contribution to Henri Berr's series, *L'Évolution de l'Humanité* is *Le Génie Romain dans la Religion, la Pensée, et l'Art*, by Albert Grenier (Paris, Renaissance du Livre, 1925, pp. 502).

The Founding of the Roman Empire, by Dr. Frank B. Marsh, which was published by the press of the University of Texas in 1922, but is now out of print, will be republished for the British Empire by the Oxford University Press. The same press is about to publish a survey, from Augustus to Constantine, of the *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, by Professor Michael Rostovtzeff, of Yale University.

The Johns Hopkins Press reprints from the *American Journal of Philology*, with seven illustrative plates, the text of Professor David M. Robinson's monograph on *The Deeds of Augustus*, as recorded on the Monumentum Antiochenum, supplementing to a small extent the inscription known as the Monumentum Ancyranum.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Naville, *Les Fouilles Italiennes en Égypte* (Journal des Savants, April); A. Merlin, *Mycènes d'après les Fouilles Anglaises Récentes* (*ibid.*, March); J. A. O. Larsen, *Representative Government in the Panhellenic Leagues*, I., II. (Classical Philology, October, January); M. Rostovtzeff, *The Problem of the Origin of Serfdom in the Roman Empire* (Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics, April); J. Rendel Harris, *Hadrian's Decree of Expulsion of the Jews from Jerusalem* (Harvard Theological Review, April); A. M. Ramsay, *The Speed of the Roman Imperial Post* (Journal of Roman Studies, XV. 1); Léon Homo, *Les Documents de l'Histoire Auguste et leur Valeur Historique* (Revue Historique, March); G. M. Bush, *Mancipatio: an Historical Study* (Juridical Review, March).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

The University of Liverpool has just issued *The Pagan Background of Early Christianity*, lectures by Professor W. R. Halliday of that university.

Ever since 1907, some fifty Benedictine scholars have been engaged, by papal commission, on the vast task of issuing a new critical edition of

the Vulgate. The collations for the first eight books of the Bible alone fill more than two hundred volumes. Medievalists will find interest and profit in the *Essais de Critique Textuelle (Ecdotique)* by a leading member of the commission, Dom Henri Quentin of the abbey of Solesmes (Paris, Picard, 1926, pp. 177), who here expounds, among other matters, the critical principles of the revision. The chief novelty among these is a distinction between the original text and the archetype of our existing manuscripts, the latter being made the object of a preliminary investigation by rigorously statistical methods.

The Bollandist Fathers, the first volume of whose *Acta Sanctorum* was published in 1643, have lately so far surmounted the difficulties produced by the war as to bring out tom. IV. for November, edited by Fathers Hippolyte Delehaye and Paul Peeters. This volume brings the publication of the *Acta* up to November 10 inclusive. A new feature is that, whereas previous volumes gave almost their entire attention to Latin and Greek texts, the present volume presents the full text of Gaelic and Oriental Acts in their original language—Gaelic, Coptic, Chaldaean, Ethiopic, Georgian, Syriac, etc. American libraries and students can obtain the new volume (pp. xii, 767, folio, 4 guineas net) from the Manresa Press, Roehampton, London, S.W. 15.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Paul Monceaux, *La Vie et l'Oeuvre d'Origène* (*Journal des Savants*, November).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

General review: Francesco Cognasso, *Scritti Recenti di Storia e Letteratura Bizantina* (*Rivista Storica Italiana*, July–October).

Professor James F. Willard's fourth *Bulletin* of Progress in Medieval Studies in the United States maintains the high degree of usefulness which its predecessors had, and is somewhat extended in scope, containing lists of books published and forthcoming, of medievalists in this country, and of doctoral dissertations in progress, together with some other notes of interest. The Mediaeval Academy of America joins with the University of Colorado in appropriations toward the expense of publication.

The development of Mohammed's religious thought and its relation to Judaism, and more especially to Christianity, are considered in a volume of lectures by Mr. Richard Bell, entitled *The Origin of Islam in its Christian Environment* (London, Macmillan).

Medievalists will welcome the new edition of the late A. Giry's well-known *Manuel de Diplomatique* (Paris, Alcan, 1925, 2 vols., pp. 944), which has long been out of print. There are no changes or additions.

Replacing the smaller book of the same sort which he published in 1902, M. Henri Omont, keeper of the manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale, now brings out a remarkable collection of *Miniatures des plus anciens Manuscrits Grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale du VI^e au XIV^e*

Siècle (Paris, Champion, 130 plates, \$20), reproducing in phototype the miniatures, nearly 300 in number, contained in thirty of the library's oldest and most precious Greek manuscripts.

A good brief account of medieval philosophy in the more restricted sense is to be found in Alois Dempf's *Die Hauptform Mittelalterlicher Weltanschauung* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1925, pp. 179).

Professor Jules Gay of Lille is the author of a study of *Les Papes du XI^e Siècle et la Chrétienté* (Paris, Gabalda, 1926, pp. xvii, 428).

The volume of special studies on *Kaisertum und Papsttum* in honor of Paul Kehr (Munich, Brackmann, 1926) contains, among other noteworthy articles: Bernhard Schmeidler, "Ueber den Wahren Verfasser der Vita Heinrici IV. Imperatoris"; Karl Wenck, "Die Römischen Päpste zwischen Alexander III. und Innocenz III. und der Designationsversuch Weihnachten 1197"; Wilhelm Smidt, "Ueber den Verfasser der drei letzten Redaktionen der Chronik Leos von Monte Cassino"; Emil v. Ottenthal, "Die Urkundenfälschungen von Hillersleben"; and Wilhelm Erben, "Die Erzählenden Sätze der Gelnhäuser Urkunde".

The Oxford University Press will shortly publish a new volume in Mr. Robert Steele's edition of the Latin works of Roger Bacon, containing his treatise on the calendar, the *Computus*, printed from a thirteenth-century manuscript in the British Museum, together with the shorter treatise on the calendar written by Bishop Robert Grosseteste and the *Massa Computi* of Alexander de Villa Dei.

The paper mentioned by us (XXXI. 424) as read by Miss Dorothy L. Mackay at the Ann Arbor meeting of the American Historical Association has been printed in the volume of *Mélanges Ferdinand Lot*, "Le Système d'Examen du XIII^e Siècle d'après le *De Conscientia* de Robert de Sorbon".

A useful tool for the student having occasion to use medieval or modern Greek texts is the *Chrestomathie Néo-Hellénique* by D. C. Hesselung and H. Pernot (Paris, Belles-Lettres, 1925, pp. viii, 219). The chief linguistic peculiarities of the inscriptions, papyri, and modern dialects are indicated; a short glossary of difficult forms and rare words is added.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. G. Aitchison Robertson, *Trial by Ordeal* (Juridical Review, March); August Heisenberg, *Das Problem der Renaissance in Byzanz* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXXIII. 3).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Vol. II. of Maxime Petit's *Histoire Générale des Peuples* has now appeared (Paris, Larousse, 1926, pp. 412); it deals with modern times. The final volume, covering the contemporary period, is promised for October.

Those interested in the intellectual history of the Middle Ages and particularly in the history of religious experience are acquainted with *La Spiritualité Chrétienne* by P. Pourrat, whose first two volumes have reached their sixth and fourth editions respectively. He now adds a third volume on *Les Temps Modernes*, part I., *De la Renaissance au Jansénisme* (Paris, Gabalda, 1925, pp. x, 607).

The first number in the new *Bibliothèque de la Revue Historique* is *Erasmus, sa Pensée Religieuse et son Action, d'après sa Correspondance, 1518-1521* (Paris, Alcan, 1926, pp. 136).

Mr. R. H. Tawney's *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (London, John Murray) is chiefly a study of religious thought on social questions in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

La Cour Polonoise de Lunéville, 1737-1766, by Pierre Boyé, deals with the later years of the ex-king Stanislas Leszczynski, and is described as the most important contribution yet made to the history of Franco-Polish relations in the eighteenth century.

A convenient summary of the Near Eastern question may be found in J. Ancel's *Manuel Historique de la Question d'Orient, 1792-1925* (Paris, Delagrave, 1926, pp. 346).

The Royal Geographical Society of Egypt has printed a volume, edited by M. Édouard Driault, entitled *Mohamed Aly et Napoléon, 1807-1814* (Cairo, imp. Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1925, pp. xl, 278), containing nearly two hundred letters of French consuls in Egypt at that time, Drovetti, consul at Cairo, and close friend of Mehemet Ali, and Saint-Marcel, vice-consul at Alexandria.

Messrs. Harper and Brothers are the publishers in America of Hilaire Belloc's *Napoleon's Campaign of 1812 and the Retreat from Moscow*.

An unusually important work, based on Austrian, Prussian, and South German archives, is *Die Rheinpolitik Kaiser Napoleons III. von 1863 bis 1870 und der Ursprung des Krieges von 1870-1871*, by Hermann Oncken (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1926, 3 vols., pp. 382, 591, 550).

Of signal importance to all students of diplomatic history is the addition of a fourth and last volume to Émile Bourgeois's well-known *Manuel Historique de Politique Étrangère*, begun in 1892. The third volume, recently reissued in a seventh revised edition, stopped at the Congress of Berlin; the fourth carries the account from 1878 to 1919 (Paris, Belin, 1926, pp. 836).

A good dissertation by one of Platzhoff's students, Manfred Sell, is *Das Deutsch-Englische Abkommen von 1890 über Helgoland und die Afrikanischen Kolonien im Licht der Deutschen Presse* (Berlin, Dümmler, 1926, pp. 112).

The firm of Rieder announces the complete *Carnets de George Louis, 1908-1917*, former ambassador of France at the court of the Tsar (Paris, 1926, 2 vols., pp. 500).

The (English) Historical Association has issued to its members a new leaflet, no. 65, *Summary of Diplomatic Events, 1917-1926*, by Dr. H. W. V. Temperley.

Vol. IX., no. 2, of the *World Peace Foundation Pamphlets* is *The Work of the Permanent Court of International Justice during Four Years*, by Manley O. Hudson.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. K. Chen, *Sino-Russian Diplomatic Relations since 1689* (Chinese Social and Political Science Review, January); Duc de Lévis-Mirepoix, *Une Expédition Diplomatique et Militaire: La Touche Tréville à Naples, I., II.* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XL. 1, 2); Émile Bourgeois, *Les Origines de la Triple Alliance* (Revue de Paris, January 1); Hans Herzfeld, *Der Deutsche Flottenbau und die Englische Politik, 1898-1908* (Archiv für Politik und Geschichte, IV. 1-2); Émile Laloy, *Le Traité de Bjoerkoe, d'après les Documents Allemands* (Mercure de France, March 15); *Briefwechsel zwischen Kaiser Franz Joseph und Tzar Nikolaus II. über die Annexion von Bosnien und der Herzegowina* (Die Kriegsschuldfrage, April); Graf Paul Metternich, *Meine Denkschrift über die Flottennovelle vom 10. Januar 1912* (Europäische Gespräche, February); Ange Morre, *La Démocratie Européenne au XX^e Siècle*, XI.-XV. (Nouvelle Revue, February 1-April 15); W. von Stumm, *Die Mission des Obersten House im Frühjahr 1914* (Die Kriegsschuldfrage, May).

THE WORLD WAR

The Zentralstelle für Erforschung der Kriegsursachen, which in December, 1923, published a bibliography of the causes of the war, has now issued a second, enlarged edition under the title *Literatur zur Kriegsschuldfrage* (Berlin, 1926, pp. 46). The German section is naturally the most complete.

Professor Shotwell's *Economic and Social History of the World War* has been enriched for the Austro-Hungarian series by E. Homann-Herimberg's *Die Kohlenversorgung in Oesterreich während des Krieges* (pp. 163) and by A. Popovics's *Das Geldwesen im Kriege* (pp. 179).

How the War began in 1914: being the Diary of the Russian Foreign Office from the 3d to the 20th of July (old style), is a publication of the Russian Soviet government, mentioned in our October number, now translated into English, with an introduction by Baron M. F. Schilling (London, Allen and Unwin, pp. 112).

The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations prints, in a pamphlet of thirty-seven pages, entitled *Recent Disclosures concerning the Origins of the World War*, a stenographic report of a discussion of that topic before the Council in April, by Professors Harry E. Barnes and Bernadotte E. Schmitt. Copies can be obtained from the office of the Council, 140 South Dearborn street.

The fifth and concluding volume of the series on *The Empire at War*, edited for the Royal Colonial Institute by Sir Charles Lucas, has lately been published. It deals with the parts played in the war by India, Ceylon, Malaya, China, Egypt, and the Mediterranean colonies.

To the list of memoirs by war-heroes may be added Admiral Scheer's *Vom Segelschiff zum U-Boot* (Leipzig, Quelle, 1925, pp. xi, 390).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Charles Altschul, *The War Guilt Controversy: Need of a Precise Definition of what constitutes War Guilt* (Current History, June); Alfred von Wegerer, *Grey über das Verbrechen von Sarajewo* (Die Kriegsschuldfrage, April); Gunther Frantz, *Sasonow und die Russische Mobilmachung 1914* (ibid.); Paul Chack, *Batailles Manquées*, II. (Revue de Paris, February 1); *Geheimsätze zum Brest-Litowsker Vertrag* (Europäische Gespräche, March); Veit Valentin, *Die Vorgeschichte des Waffenstillstandes, 1918* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXXIV. 1).

GREAT BRITAIN

The *Bulletin* of the Institute of Historical Research, no. 9 (February), presents further data as to the accessibility of foreign archives, especially those of Holland, and an account of the historical material available in the Eyre Rolls, in the Public Record Office and elsewhere.

Messrs. Longmans, Green, and Company announce a *History of England* by Dr. George Macaulay Trevelyan.

Dr. J. F. Muirhead's *American Shrines on English Soil* (Macmillan, pp. xiv, 190) will certainly add to his fame as a maker of guide-books, for in this charming little book he has gathered an extraordinary number of interesting facts respecting places in England which have associations with American history or literature. It is to be commended to all makers of American historical pilgrimages in England.

The Director of the National Museum of Wales, Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler, has prepared a comprehensive survey of *Prehistoric and Roman Wales* (Oxford, Clarendon Press) based on all available remains and evidences and on official excavations conducted by the author.

Another of the Intermediate Source Books of History prepared in the University of London is *England before the Norman Conquest* (Longmans), by Professor Raymond W. Chambers of University College.

Miss M. St. Clare Byrne's *Elizabethan Life in Town and Country* (London, Methuen) gives, in brief form and from good sources, an ingeniously constructed sketch of the life of young and old, rich and poor, town dwellers and countrymen, master and man, writer and reader.

A large area of London history is covered by *The Early History of Piccadilly, Leicester Square, Soho, and their Neighbourhood* (Cambridge, University Press, pp. xl, 178), by Charles L. Kingsford. Its primary purpose was to give an account of a plan drawn in 1585 and recently

reproduced by the London Topographical Society. The history of the land before the beginning of building, and the history of the streets from that time down, are covered, with a wealth of minute knowledge.

Last autumn's Raleigh Lecture before the British Academy, entitled *The Winning of the Initiative by the House of Commons*, by Professor Wallace Notestein of Cornell University, is to be published for the Academy by Humphrey Milford.

Norman Penney, of Devonshire House, London, is preparing an edition of the *Journal of George Fox* for general use, to take the place of the Bicentenary Edition. It will be based largely on the Cambridge edition and the Tercentenary Supplement, with spelling modernized, being meant for general reading.

It appears that *The Diary of a Young Lady of Fashion in the Years 1764-1765*, mentioned on p. 615 of our last number without having been seen, was really a mere hoax.

The *Scottish Historical Review* for April has articles on the Landing of Prince Charles in 1745, by Dr. Walter B. Laikie; on the Date of the *Filia Specialis* Bull (1192 rather than 1188), by Professor R. K. Hannay; on "Celtic Ireland" (Mrs. Green's recent book), by Robert Dunlop; and on the Advocates' Protest against the Institution of a Chair of Law in the University of Edinburgh, by W. C. Dickinson.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Helena M. Chew, *Ecclesiastical Tenants-in-Chief and Writs of Military Summons* (English Historical Review, April); W. G. Perrin, *The Lord High Admiral and the Board of Admiralty* (Mariner's Mirror, April); H. G. Rawlinson, *The Flanders Galleys: Some Notes on Seaborne Trade between Venice and England, 1327-1532* (*ibid.*); Winifred I. Haward, *Economic Aspects of the Wars of the Roses in East Anglia* (English Historical Review, April); Sir Charles Firth, *London during the Civil War* (History, April); A. de Curzon, *John Wesley, Précurseur de la Croix-Rouge* (Nouvelle Revue, March 1); Stanley Dumbell, *The Cotton Market in 1799* (Economic Journal, Supplement, January); Graf Max Montgelas, *Lord Grey als Staatsmann und Geschichtsschreiber, I., 1892-1906* (Die Kriegsschuldfrage, May).

IRELAND AND THE DOMINIONS

(For Canada, see p. 887; for India, see p. 873)

The Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament have put forth vol. XXV. of the *Historical Records of Australia*, being *Governor's Despatches, 1846-1847* (pp. xiv, 857).

The December number of the *Victorian Historical Magazine* contains part II. of A. S. Kenyon's account of the Overlanders, and the conclusion of the Reminiscences from 1841 of William Kyle, Pioneer, as communicated to Charles Daley and transcribed by him.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: George O'Brien, *The Irish Staple Organisations in the Reign of James I.* (Economic Journal, Supplement, January); C. S. S. Higham, *The General Assembly of the Leeward Islands, I.* (English Historical Review, April).

FRANCE

General reviews: G. Pariset, *Révolution* [French publications of 1924-1925 on the French Revolution] (Revue Historique, March); Raymond Guyot, *Histoire de France de 1800 à nos Jours* (*ibid.*).

Of the Abbé Chaume's massive *Origines du Duché de Bourgogne*, the first fascicle of vol. II., dealing with the historical geography of the region, has now appeared (Dijon, Rebourseau, 1926).

Materials for the historian of medieval times are provided in the two scholarly volumes by Fernand Benoit, which constitute a *Recueil des Actes des Comtes de Provence appartenant à la Maison de Barcelone, Alphonse II. et Raymond Béranger V., 1196-1245*. They comprise vols. III. and IV. of the *Collection de Textes pour servir à l'Histoire de Provence*, under the auspices of the Prince of Monaco; the former volume contains an introduction and tables; the latter, texts and analyses (Paris, Picard, 1926, pp. ccclxx, 496).

Miss Eleanor C. Lodge, principal of Westfield College in the University of London, publishes, on the basis of researches in Gascon archives, *Gascony under the English Rule, 1154-1453* (London, Methuen).

French rural life in the sixteenth century has been little studied. Considerable importance therefore attaches to the laborious monograph by Paul Raveau on *L'Agriculture et les Classes Paysannes; la Transformation de la Propriété dans le Haut Poitou au XVI^e Siècle*, preceded by a study on *Le Pouvoir d'Achat de la Livre Tournais du Règne de Louis XI. à celui de Louis XIII.* The work is the fruit of twenty years of research in the archives of the department of Vienne and is published in the *Bibliothèque d'Histoire Économique* (Paris, Rivière, 1926, pp. xxxviii, 299).

The first complete history of French Protestantism in fifty years comes from the pen of John Viénot, honorary professor of the University of Paris and president of the Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français. It is entitled *Histoire de la Réforme Française des Origines à l'Édit de Nantes* (Paris, Fischbacher, 1926, pp. 480).

The history of the legislation and judicial decisions of the Protestant Church in France on the subject of marriage and divorce is fully treated by M. Joseph Faurey in a pamphlet on *Le Protestantisme Français et le Mariage* (Paris, Boccard, pp. 55).

Students of the reigns of Louis XIII. and Louis XIV. will be glad to have the new vol. V. of Louis André's *Sources de l'Histoire de France*,

XVII^e Siècle (Paris, A. Picard, 1926, pp. xvi, 393), in which a thousand or more of the sources for the political and military history of France in that century, more especially for details of that history, are noted, described, and evaluated.

The development of Gallicanism is illustrated in *La Vie et les Oeuvres de Claude Fleury, 1640-1723*, by François Gaquère (Paris, Gigord, 1925, pp. x, 516).

Four lectures by André Hallays on the Perrault brothers, Claude and Charles, have been put in book form under the title *Les Perrault*, in the series *Essais sur le XVII^e Siècle* (Paris, Perrin, 1926, pp. ii, 306).

Recent publications on French eighteenth-century thought are André Bellessort's *Essai sur Voltaire* (Paris, Perrin, 1925, pp. 387), F. Vézinet's *Autour de Voltaire* (Paris, Champion, 1925, pp. viii, 141), and Arturo Labriola's *Voltaire e la Filosofia della Liberazione* (Naples, Morano, 1926, pp. 332).

Napoléon et Eugène de Beauharnais by Arthur-Lévy, now appearing in the *Revue de Paris*, is also offered in book form (Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1926, pp. 344).

The latest historical work by Pierre de La Gorce, the well-known French scholar, is *La Restauration: Louis XVIII*. (Paris, Plon, 1926, pp. 332).

Recent studies in the *Récits d'Autrefois* are those by Armand Praviel on *L'Aventure de la Duchesse de Berri* (Paris, Hachette, 1925, pp. 123), by Charles Schmidt on *Les Journées de Juin 1848* (*ibid.*, 1926, pp. 127), and by René Arnaud on *Le Coup d'État du 2 Décembre*.

Under the general title *Au Service de la France; Neuf Années de Souvenirs*, former President Raymond Poincaré has published two volumes, *Au Lendemain d'Agadir, 1912*, and *Les Balkans en Feu, 1912* (Paris, Plon, 1926, pp. 432). Of these *Memoirs of M. Poincaré*, vol. I. has been published in English translation (London, Heinemann), and the second volume will follow in the autumn. A continuation from the first appointment of M. Poincaré as prime minister in 1912 to the end of his period of office in 1923 may follow as a third volume.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. Lemaire, *Dunkerque sous la Domination Anglaise* [with documents, correspondence of Mazarin and Father Canaye] (*Bulletin de la Commission Historique du Département du Nord*, t. XXXII.); Marc Dubruel, *Les Congrégations des Affaires de France sous le Pape Innocent XI*, I. (*Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, April); L. R. Gottschalk, *The Criminality of Jean Paul Marat* (*South Atlantic Quarterly*, April); Amédée Britsch, *Lettres de L. P. J. d'Orléans, Duc de Chartres, à Nathaniel Parker Forth, 1778-1785* (*Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique*, XL. 2); Alfred Stern, *Ueber das Werk: "La Galerie des États-Généraux 1789"* (*Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, XXIII. 1); A.

Mathiez, *La Révolution et les Subsistances; le Troisième Maximum, Germinal-Thermidor An II.* (Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française, March); Georges Lefebvre, *Les Mines de Littry de 1793 à l'An VIII.* (*ibid.*); G. Lenotre, *Robespierre et la Mère de Dieu*, III.-V. (Revue des Deux Mondes, February 1, March 1, 15); Robert Anchel, *Les Faux Assignats pendant la Révolution* (Revue de Paris, April 1); G. Lacour-Gayet, *Comment on devenait Ministre sous le Directoire* (*ibid.*, March 15); G. Goyau, *Une Belle Vie d'Historien: Augustin Cochin* (Revue des Deux Mondes, April 1); G. Pagès, *L'Affaire du Luxembourg d'après une Publication Récente*, I. (Revue d'Histoire Moderne, February); J. Dontenville, *Le Général Trochu et la Politique* (Nouvelle Revue, March 1).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

General reviews: G. Luzzatto, *Rassegna di Storia Economica* (Nuova Rivista Storica, January); Friedrich Schneider, *Neuere Dante-Literatur*, V. (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXXIV. 1).

A useful compilation of studies on various phases of Italian medieval history by native and foreign authors of distinction has been made by Francesco Landogna under the title *Antologia della Critica Storica dall' "Agonia di Roma" ai Giorni Nostri, coordinata allo Studio della Storia per le Scuole Medie Superiori e le Persone Colte*, part I., *Medio Evo* (Leghorn, Giusti, 1925, pp. 380).

W. Cohn, who is known for his studies of Southern Italy in the Norman period, has published in the *Untersuchungen zur Deutschen Staat- und Rechtsgeschichte*, a work on *Das Zeitalter der Hohenstaufen in Sizilien; ein Beitrag zur Entstehung des Modernen Beamtenstaates* (Breslau, 1925).

Among other articles of value, the volume entitled *Dante e la Liguria; Studi e Ricerche* (Milan, Fratelli Treves, 1925, pp. viii, 442) contains at least two important historical studies, *La Liguria nell' Opera di Dante* by Paolo Revelli and *L'Ideale Politico di Dante e il Verbo di Giuseppe Mazzini* by F. L. Manucci.

Francesco Lanzoni's *La Controriforma nella Città e Diocesi di Faenza* (Faenza, Lega, 1925, pp. 316) is a valuable contribution to the story of this period, weaving facts of local interest into a larger setting.

G. Vittani, *Archivi resi dall' Austria all' Archivio di Stato in Milano riguardanti la Storia del Risorgimento* (Aquila, Vecchioni, 1924), gives a summary account of those archives of the pre-Revolutionary government at Milan, of the Cisalpine Republic and the Kingdom of Italy, and of the later Austrian viceroys, commanders, and courts, which as the result of the late war were restored to Milan from Vienna, Trent, Innsbruck, and Graz.

Few collections of material on the period of the Risorgimento are richer than that which Milan owes to the generosity of Achille Bertarelli, and which is destined for the Museo del Risorgimento in the Castello Sforzesco of that city. Besides 17,300 units on the period mentioned, the collection contains 598 on the French Revolution and 10,642 on the World War. The donor, who is also well versed in bibliographical science, has published an *Inventario* of his collection in three volumes (Bergamo, Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche, 1925, pp. x, 677, 481, 202).

A detailed account of an episode in the earlier Risorgimento is the *Diario dell' Assedio e Difesa di Ancona nel 1849* by G. Santini (Aquila, Vecchioni, 1925, pp. 292).

The historical office of the Italian General Staff has begun the publication of a history of the various army corps during the World War, the first two volumes of which are issued under the title *Ufficio Storico: Riassunti Storici dei Corpi e Comandi nella Guerra 1915-1918; Brigate di Fanteria* (Rome, Libreria dello Stato, 1924-1925, pp. vii, 241, 295).

A handsome volume of *Scritti Storici in Onore di C. Manfroni* (Padua, Draghi, 1925, pp. xviii, 456) has been issued to commemorate the fortieth year of the veteran's instruction. Thirty scholars, some of whom are themselves eminent, have contributed studies on various phases of medieval and modern Italian history.

Navarrete printed in 1826 the *real cédula* of Ferdinand and Isabella confirming in 1501 and quoting the *mayorazgo* or grant of entail of Feb. 22, 1498, by which Columbus arranged for the succession to his properties, but for many years the document has been missing from the archives at Simancas. Lately Miss Alice Bache Gould discovered there two incomplete but contemporary *exemplaires* of the missing document. Señor Angel de Altolaguirre prints a facsimile of the document, with Miss Gould's transcription, in a recent *Boletín* of the Real Academia de la Historia.

The Hispanic Society of America, having in its library the manuscript of a diary kept by Washington Irving in Spain from Apr. 7, 1828, to Feb. 28, 1829, has printed his jottings, often of interesting scenes, in a little volume of 140 pages, *Washington Irving's Diary: Spain, 1828-1829*, well edited by Miss Clara L. Penney, and accompanied by a map intended to illustrate the diary, but reduced beyond the point of usefulness.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Alessandro Colombo, *Di Milano nell' Evo Antico* (Nuova Rivista Storica, January); G. B. Picotti, *Qualche Osservazioni sui Caratteri delle Signorie Italiane* (Rivista Storica Italiana, January); C. B. Hoover, *The Sea Loan in Genoa in the Twelfth Century* (Quarterly Journal of Economics, May); H. M. Lackland, *Failure of the Constitutional Experiment in Sicily, 1813-1814* (English Historical Review, April); Maurice Paléologue, *Un Grand Réaliste*;

Cavour, VI.-VII. (Revue des Deux Mondes, February 1, March 1, April 1); Aldo Ferrari, *I Precursori del Movimento Socialista in Italia* (Nuova Rivista Storica, January).

GERMANY, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

The *Archivalische Zeitschrift*, in its thirty-fifth volume, gives full descriptions, with some plans and illustrations, of the new buildings of the Prussian Geheimes Staatsarchiv in Berlin-Dahlem, and of the Saxon Hauptstaatsarchiv in Dresden. In another article, by Dr. Ludwig Bittner, the history and activities of the Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv at Vienna are described.

An Historical Commission for the Province of Brandenburg and for Berlin was founded in November, 1925, which plans among other labors to draw up bibliographies, publish documents, both political, social, and economic, continue the registers of the margraves of Brandenburg, draw up inventories of archives, and make preliminary studies for an historical atlas of the province. Professor Stutz and the archivists Dr. Klinkenborg and Dr. Kaeber are among the leaders of the enterprise.

The Wissenschaftliche Institut der Elsass-Lothringer im Reich has published the second volume of *Regesten der Bischöfe von Strassburg* in two numbers, one covering the years 1202-1244 (Innsbruck, Wagner, 1924), the other, the years 1244-1260 (*ibid.*, 1925); the editors are Alfred Hessel and Manfred Krebs.

A valuable addition to our knowledge of the struggle between German and Danish influences in the two northern duchies is given by Otto Brandt's *Geschichte und Politik in Schleswig-Holstein um die Wende des 18. Jahrhunderts*, which deals particularly with the Emkendorf circle of Fritz and Julia Reventlow (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1925, pp. x, 448).

Under the auspices of the Deutsche Akademie, the Friedrich List Gesellschaft is preparing a complete critical edition of List's writings, speeches, and letters. A rich mass of unpublished material is available for this work. The editors are Beckerath (Cologne), Goesser (Stuttgart), Lenz (Giessen), Notz (Washington), Salin, and Sommer (Heidelberg). The first volume, *Schriften des Jungen List, 1815-1825*, will appear within a year.

Somewhat philosophical, but solidly documented, the study of *L'Allemagne Contemporaine (1919-1924)*; *sa Structure et son Évolution Politiques, Économiques, et Sociales*, by Professor E. Vermeil of Strasbourg (Paris, Alcan, 1925, pp. 255), commands confidence because of the author's classic analysis of the Weimar Constitution, previously published.

Two of the many groups of studies resulting from the millenary Rhine celebration are *Der Deutsche Volksboden*, edited by Wilhelm Volz

(Breslau, Hirt, 1925, pp. 240) and *Frankreich und der Rhein* by Rudolf Kautzsch, Georg Küntzel, Walter Platzhoff, Fedor Schneider, Franz Schultz, and Georg Wolfram (Frankfort, Englert, 1925, pp. 124).

An extended account in French (pp. 20) of "Les Archives et le Service des Archives en Tchécoslovaquie" is given in the *Nederlandsch Archievenblad*, XXXIII. 2, by Dr. Jan Opocensky, director of the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Prague.

In *Frančouska Hussitica*, A. Neumann has been printing documents in French libraries on the history of Hussitism. The first volume contained some fifty manuscripts of the years 1383-1435, the second, now published, covers the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries (Olmütz, Nakladem Matice Cyrilometodiejské, 1925, pp. 172).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. W. Thompson, *The Early History of the Saxons as a Field for the Study of German Social Origins* (American Journal of Sociology, March); Lucien Febvre, *Le Progrès des Études sur Luther* (Revue d'Histoire Moderne, February); Johannes Paul, *Die Nordische Politik der Habsburger vor dem Dreissigjährigen Kriege* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXXIII. 3); Hans Rothfels, *Friedrich der Grosse in den Krisen des Siebenjährigen Krieges* (*ibid.*, CXXXIV. 1); Gustav Meyer, *Gräfin Sophie von Hatzfeldt, Bismarck, und das Duell Lassalle-Racowitza* (*ibid.*); Friedrich Frahm, *Bismarcks Briefwechsel mit General Prim* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XXIII. 1); Oskar von Wertheimer, *Kaiser Friedrichs III. Kriegstagebuch von 1870-71* (Archiv für Politik und Geschichte, IV. 1-2); R. Witschi, *Bern, Waadt, und Aargau im Jahre 1814* (Archiv des Historischen Vereins des Kantons Bern, XXVIII. 1).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

Under the auspices of the recently founded Catholic University at Nijmegen, Netherlands, a series of medieval religious writings will be published, entitled *Bibliotheca Neerlandica Praereformatoria*. Among the editors will be one American, Dr. Albert Hyma, assistant professor of history in the University of Michigan.

Sources of great value for the economic history of the United Provinces will be found in the rich collection of documents from Dutch archives, published by J. G. Van Dillen in *Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis der Wisselbanken Amsterdam, Middelburg, Delft, Rotterdam* (the Hague, Nijhoff, 1925, 2 vols., pp. 1435), being no. 60 of the *Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën*.

A handsome quarto edition of the works of Jacques de Hemricourt, Belgian chronicler of the fourteenth century, is being published by the Académie Royale de Belgique. His most important work, it will be remembered, was the *Miroir des Nobles de Hesbaye*, giving an account of numerous Liège families between 1102 and 1398, a work to which he

devoted forty-five years and which ranks as an important medieval document for social history. The first volume of the *Miroir* in this edition was published in 1910; the second, embracing the *Codex Diplomaticus* and genealogical tables, with explanatory notes, appeared in 1925 under the editorship of C. de Borman and Édouard Poncelet (Brussels, Imbreghts, pp. 496).

L'Histoire du Hainaut de 1443 à nos Jours, by Em. Douy (Charleroi, Impr. Prov., 1925, pp. vi, 458), is an excellent synthesis of the administrative, political, social, and religious life of that province.

Comte Carlos de Villermont has published a well-made biography of *Le Comte Charles de Cobenzl, Ministre Plénipotentiaire aux Pays-Bas* (Lille, Desclée, 1925, pp. 328), who represented the Emperor at Brussels from 1753 to 1770.

An historical document of much value for the commemoration of persons and events in war history is *La Frappe en Belgique Occupée*, by M. Charles Lefevure, which describes some 3250 medals and devices and contains 105 plates showing 1325 reproductions. The book may be obtained for \$12 from the Oeuvre Nationale des Invalides de la Guerre, 79 Chaussée d'Ixelles, Brussels.

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

General review: Otto Brandt, *Dänisch-Norwegische Geschichtsliteratur* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXXIII. 3).

Rich archaeological finds of the period preceding the viking age (say 400–600 A. D.) made at Vendel north of Uppsala have led Swedish archaeologists to give to the civilization which they indicate the name "Vendelkultur". In the latest number, XXXVI. 1, of the *Handlingar* of the Swedish Academy of History and Antiquities Professor Sune Lindqvist, of the University of Stockholm, after careful and wide-reaching comparisons of the remains of this age with contemporary objects found in South Germany, Hungary, and Italy, presents a well-illustrated monograph on *Vendelkulturens Alder och Ursprung*, arguing for a somewhat later dating than has been usual.

There have appeared in translation by M. Lichnevsky from the Russian, *Lettres des Grands-Ducs à Nicolas II.* (Paris, Payot, 1926, pp. 272), as a part of the *Collection de Mémoires, Études, et Documents pour servir à l'Histoire de la Guerre Mondiale*.

Of value to students of contemporary history who lack access to Polish material, is the well-documented study by Paul Roth, *Die Entstehung des Polnischen Staates* (Berlin, Liebmann, 1926, pp. 168).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: "*Lange ohne Nachrichten*"; *Russische Telegramme betreffend den Plan einer Besetzung des Bosphorus*

[1897] (Die Kriegsschuldfrage, March); Raymond Poincaré, *Voyage en Russie, 1912* (Revue des Deux Mondes, February 1).

SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

A new annual review, *Albania*, issued simultaneously by Bestetti at Milan and Champion at Paris, takes for its province the archaeology, art, and history of Albania, Macedonia, Epirus, and the Balkans in general. The first issue (1925) contains the account of French excavations at Dyrrachium and Apollonia, a study of the Byzantine ramparts of Durazzo, an article on Lord Byron and Ali Pasha, and material on the history of Turkish decorative art. Léon Rey is the director.

The *Histoire Diplomatique de la Grèce de 1821 à Nos Jours* by Édouard Driault and Michel Lhéritier receives a fourth volume, comprising the *Suite du Règne de Georges I^{er} jusqu'à la Révolution Turque, 1878-1908; Hellénisme et Germanisme* (Paris, Presses Universitaires, 1926, pp. xvi, 580).

There has just appeared the first volume of *La Grèce et la Crise Mondiale*, by A. F. Frangulis, former minister and former delegate of Greece to the League of Nations (Paris, Alcan, 1926, pp. 359).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Alfred Hessel, *Friaul als Grenzland* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXXIV. 1).

ASIA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

M. Alfred Martineau expects to publish within a year the third volume of his *Dupleix et l'Inde Française*; chapters on Dupleix's treasury and army are printed in advance in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Colonies Françaises*, XIX. 1. M. Martineau has also published the fourth volume (Paris, Leroux, 1925, pp. xxv, 462) of the *Archives de l'Inde Française*, embracing the correspondence of the Conseil Supérieur of Pondichéry and the Compagnie des Indes from 1744 to January, 1749.

Outlines of Indian Constitutional History (London, P. S. King), by W. A. J. Archbold, formerly principal of Muir Central College in Allahabad, is largely a book of reference, quoting many legislative and other texts from the earliest days of the Company's rule down to the present time.

A biography of William Carey (1761-1834), with the title *William Carey, Cobbler and Pioneer*, by James H. Morrison, has been added to Messrs. Doran's series *Master Missionaries*. Carey went as a missionary to India in 1793 under the auspices of the Baptist Missionary Society of England.

An excellent history of *British Malaya, 1824-1867*, from the Anglo-Dutch treaty of the former date to the transfer of the region from the

India Office to the Colonial Office, will be found in a volume of 340 pages by L. A. Mills of Magdalen College, Oxford, printed as vol. III., part 2, of the *Journal* of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. The earlier history of Penang and the Straits Settlements is briefly recounted, the rest of the volume dealing with government, land problems, wars, Anglo-Siamese relations, agriculture, trade, Malay piracy, and the episode of Rajah Brooke of Sarawak.

The publisher G. Van Oest of Brussels and Paris announces, as to appear shortly in his series *Ars Asiatica*, a fully illustrated volume by Professor N. J. Krom of Leiden, *L'Art Javanais dans les Musées de Hollande et de Java* (pp. 80 quarto, 60 plates).

The École Française d'Extrême-Orient has marked its twenty-fifth anniversary by two handsome volumes of *Études Asiatiques* (Paris, Van Oest, 1925, pp. viii, 376, 435). Among articles of an historical nature are the following: L. Finot, "Lokeçvara en Indochine"; A. Foucher, "Notes sur l'Itinéraire de Hiuan-tsang en Afghanistan"; Georges Maspero, "La Géographie Politique de l'Indochine aux environs de l'An 960 A. D."; H. Parmentier, "Origine Commune des Architectures Hindoues dans l'Inde et en Extrême-Orient".

Messrs. Appleton announce for early publication *An Outline History of China*, "with a thorough account of the Republican era interpreted in its historical perspective", by Professors Herbert H. Gowen and Josef W. Hall. The work is based on Professor Gowen's *History of China* (1909).

Dr. Hosea B. Morse, long associated with the Chinese customs service, has lately published four volumes of *Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China, 1635-1834* (Oxford University Press), covering all aspects of the Company's China trade.

Ferdinand Valentin plunges into the bewildering complexity of Chinese politics with an account of *L'Avènement d'une République; Luittes Intérieures de la Chine de 1911 à 1923* (Paris, Perrin, 1926).

Messrs. Kegan Paul are publishing the third and concluding volume of James Murdoch's *History of Japan*, covering the Tokugawa period, 1652-1868, revised and edited by the late Dr. J. H. Longford, who has added a chapter, bringing the story down to the present time.

That the Catholic Church in Japan was exterminated in the earlier part of the seventeenth century was commonly supposed until the discovery of the surviving Christians (called "Kirishitan") by the renewed Catholic missions in 1865. Abundant documents have enabled Professor M. Anesaki, of the Imperial University, to publish two books on the subject: *Kirishitan-Shumon no Hakugai to Sempuku* (The Extermination of the Kirishitan and their Survivals), and *Kirishitan Kinzei no Shumatsu* (The End of the Proscription of the Kirishitan). The author intends to publish an abridged English translation of these books.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Adm. G. A. Ballard, *The Downfall of Portugal in the East* (Mariner's Mirror, April).

AFRICA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

Jean Serres has studied *La Politique Turque en Afrique du Nord sous la Monarchie de Juillet* (Paris, Geuthner, 1925).

An excellent general treatise on the whole history of Senegal from 1364 to 1925, with maps and plans, will be found in *Le Sénégal: sa Conquête et son Organisation* (St. Louis, Senegal, 1925, pp. 435), by M. A. Sabatié, long an administrator in the French colonies.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: S. Gsell, *La Découverte de l'Afrique au Moyen Age* (Journal des Savants, January); Ch. de la Roncière, *La France en Tunisie au Temps de Henri IV. et de Louis XIII.* (*ibid.*, April); H. Dehérain, *La Mission du Commissaire Général Dubois-Thainville auprès du Dey d'Alger, 1800 et 1801* (Revue de l'Histoire des Colonies Françaises, XIX. 1).

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

Among recent accessions of the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress are photostat copies of the Samuel Adams Papers in the New York Public Library; and of the U. S. Grant Papers in the Henry E. Huntington Library, the latter amounting to 482 sheets; an orderly book of John Glover's Brigade, 1777-1778; a diary of Samuel Sloan, kept on board the *Constitution*, 1803-1804; papers of J. A. J. Cresswell, 1820-1888; letters of Joseph Johnson to Charles S. Morgan, 1824-1846, and of James Watson Webb to Thurlow Weed, 1832-1877; correspondence of the late Senator J. B. Foraker; and miscellaneous papers of the late W. J. Bryan relating to the political campaign of 1896, deposited by Mrs. Bryan.

The Superintendent of Documents has issued a twelfth edition of his *List of Publications in American History and Biography* for sale by his office (Price List 50).

Volumes I. and III. of *The Pageant of America: a Pictorial History of the United States*, edited by Ralph H. Gabriel, have appeared (Yale University Press). The first volume, prepared by Clark Wissler, Miss Constance L. Skinner, and William Wood of Quebec, bears the special title *Adventurers in the Wilderness*; the third, by Mr. Gabriel, is entitled *Toilers of Land and Sea*. These volumes carry farther than it has ever been carried before the effort to illustrate American history by books of pictures.

Professor Clive Day's *History of the Commerce of the United States* (Longmans, pp. 394) is a useful text-book, made up, as respects the

chapters on foreign trade, from his general *History of Commerce*, but in the major part dealing with the domestic trade of the country, clearly and comprehensively described, and with excellent illustrations, mostly taken from Professor E. L. Bogart's *Economic History of the United States*.

In the September number of the *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society Rev. O. B. Corrigan's history of Catholicity in Allegany and Garrett Counties, Maryland, is concluded and Sister Mary Eulalia Herron's studies of the Work of the Sisters of Mercy in the United States are continued. There is also a sketch of Kosciuszko by Ella M. E. Flick. In the December number the articles pertain to the vicariate of Colorado (1882-1887) and the diocese of Denver (1887-1921). In the latter number is also a paper on the German Catholics in the United States of America, by Rev. Matthew Anthony Pekari.

A brief but careful sketch of the history of the *Unitas Fratrum* in America, more especially of its southern branch, is presented in *The Moravian Church Yesterday and Today* (Winston-Salem, N. C., pp. 150), by Miss Adelaide L. Fries, its archivist (from whom copies may be ordered), and Dr. J. K. Pfohl.

Rev. Edgar G. Thomas, 717 West Broad Street, Savannah, is the author and publisher of a history of the *First African Baptist Church of North America*.

The Mission Covenant of America, by C. V. Bowman, is the history of a Swedish church organization (Chicago, Covenant Book Concern).

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Somewhat belated mention is here made of the two volumes by A. Magnaghi, *Amerigo Vespucci, Studio Critico, con speciale riguardo ad una nuova Valutazione delle Fonti e con Documenti Inediti tratti dal Codice Vaglienti* (Rome, Istituto Cristoforo Colombo, 1924, pp. 249, 397).

The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in North America, 1610-1791 (New York, A. and C. Boni, 1925, pp. liv, 527), is marked on the title-page as "selected and edited by Edna Kenton, with an introduction by Reuben Gold Thwaites". In other words, it is a selection of thirty-seven of the most interesting documents (translations) in Dr. Thwaites's famous collection, with his introduction to that collection reprinted without modification, though at some points inapplicable to the present book. The latter, according to the publisher's cover, prints for the first time in one volume "the important relations, hitherto only obtainable in scores of musty books on obscure library shelves".

The Francis Perot's Sons Malt Company, which was established in Philadelphia in 1687 and has descended from father to son for eight generations, has published an historical sketch of their business, entitled

The Oldest Business House in America (pp. 24). For other centenary volumes, see *Association of Centenary Firms and Corporations of the United States*, third issue (Philadelphia, 1924, pp. 212).

The Harvard University Press announces a reprint of the late Barrett Wendell's *Cotton Mather*, which has been out of print for several years past.

The Liberty Bell: its History and Significance, by Victor Rosewater, is brought out by Appleton.

Messrs. Longmans have in the press a work entitled *The British Navy in Adversity: a Study of the American War of Independence*, by Captain W. M. James, R. N., formerly director of the Royal Naval Staff College.

Dr. Charles Moore, chief of the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress, has prepared with great care a handsome volume on *The Family Life of George Washington* (Houghton Mifflin Company), dealing with his education, his early romance, his marriage with Mrs. Custis, the family life at Mt. Vernon, the stepchildren, and their descendants.

Biographical sketches of Martha Washington, Abigail Adams, Dolly Madison, Elizabeth Monroe, Louisa Adams, Rachel Jackson, and Peggy Eaton, by Meade Minnigerode, have been gathered into a volume with the title *Some American Ladies: Seven Informal Biographies* (Putnam).

Mr. J. F. A. Jackson, author of *American Colonial Architecture*, has brought out a continuation of his studies under the title *Development of American Architecture, 1783-1830* (Philadelphia, McKay).

Alexandre Capitaine depicts *La Situation Économique et Sociale des États-Unis à la Fin du XVIII^e Siècle, d'après les Voyageurs Français* (Paris, Presses Universitaires, 1926, pp. xx, 164).

Smith College Studies in History, X. 2, 3, and 4, is a treatise on the decisions of the Supreme Court on the Incidences and Effects of Taxation, by Margaret Spahr. In vol. XI., no. 1, Dr. Daniel C. Knowlton prints with introduction and annotations the *Journal of William H. Crawford* (pp. 64) during his journey to Paris at the beginning of his service as American minister there, June 4-Nov. 14, 1813, together with several letters found in the same book, now in the possession of a granddaughter—a fuller and better print than that given in Shipp's life of Crawford.

Dr. Thomas O. Mabbott and Captain Frank L. Pleadwell, U.S.N., have collaborated in producing *The Life and Works of Edward Coote Pinkney* (Macmillan, 1926, pp. xvii, 233). Half of the book is occupied with an interesting memoir, which their unwearied searches have enabled them to prepare; the remainder, with the printing of all of Pinkney's poems that could be found in print or manuscript, with a few prose writings.

The firm of Badger has brought out *The Diplomatic and Commercial Relations of the United States and Chile, 1820-1914*, by William R. Sherman.

Professor J. Fred Rippy's work, *The United States and Mexico, 1821-1924*, has come from the press (Knopf).

The *Dickinson Alumnus* (Carlisle, Pa.) for June presents a letter written by James Buchanan to his mother, Nov. 1, 1832, when he was minister to Russia.

The William Byrd Press of Richmond has brought out a biography, by Alexander F. Robertson, of *Alexander Hugh Holmes Stuart* (1807-1891), a Whig leader in the days of the party's decline, member of Congress 1841-1843, secretary of the interior 1850-1853, opponent of secession, and leader in the movement for restoration at the close of the war.

American Opinion of German Unification, 1848-1871, by John G. Gazley, is among the Columbia University *Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law*.

Robert W. McBride has brought out through Bobbs-Merrill *Personal Recollections of Abraham Lincoln by a Member of his Bodyguard*. There is an introduction by former Senator A. J. Beveridge.

Professor Charles E. Merriam's Amherst lectures on Lincoln, Roosevelt, Wilson, and Bryan, have been published under the title *Four American Party Leaders* (Macmillan).

Recollections and Letters of General Robert E. Lee, by his son, Captain Robert E. Lee, with an introduction by Gamaliel Bradford, has been brought out by the Garden City Publishing Company.

A history of the Consumer's League during the thirty-five years of its existence, to which has been given the title *The Story of an Epoch-Making Movement*, has been written by Maud Nathan and published by Messrs. Doubleday. There are introductory comments by Newton D. Baker and others.

A biography of Miss Grace H. Dodge, educator, sometime president of the Young Women's Christian Association, has been prepared by Abbie Graham and issued by the Woman's Press of New York. It is entitled *Grace H. Dodge, Merchant of Dreams*.

Of the history of the first quarter of the twentieth century on which Mark Sullivan is engaged, bearing the title *Our Times: the United States, 1900-1925*, the first volume, *The Turn of the Century, 1900-1904*, has appeared (Scribner).

From the Century Company comes *The Political Education of Woodrow Wilson*, by James Kerney, who had special opportunities for observation of the New Jersey period of that process.

Messrs. Putnam have brought out *The War Period of American Finance*, by Alexander D. Noyes, for many years financial editor of the *New York Evening Post*. The work is a continuation of the author's *Forty Years of American Finance*.

The State Department has published the volume of *Foreign Relations* for 1916 (pp. lxxvi, 1008). It will be remembered that the diplomatic correspondence specifically relating to the World War is to be printed in supplementary volumes.

LOCAL ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

NEW ENGLAND

A committee consisting of Professor Samuel E. Morison and others is preparing for the establishment of a *Quarterly Journal of New England History and Literature*. Mr. Lawrence S. Mayo is to be the managing editor.

The New England History Teachers' Association held its spring meeting at Brown University, April 24, under the presidency of Professor Theodore Collier. The general subject, appropriate to the year, was the American Revolution. Papers were read by Professors V. W. Crane of Brown University, on "Present Tendencies in the Interpretation of the Causes of the Revolution"; E. B. Greene of Columbia, on "The American Revolution as Education"; D. R. Fox of Columbia, on "The Achievement of Cultural Independence"; and Mr. Allen French of Cambridge, Mass., on "New Light on the Beginning of the Revolution".

The Story of an Old New England Town, by Vinol Houghton, is the history of the town of Lee, Maine (Belgrade, Maine, the author, pp. 248).

The Vermont Historical Society has just published its *Proceedings* for the years 1923, 1924, and 1925 (pp. lvi, 286). The largest item in the contents, occupying some 65 pages, is a body of reminiscences written in 1826, by Col. Frye Bailey, on the basis of diaries and an unusual memory, and concerning early days in Vermont, the Canadian campaign of 1776, the Burgoyne campaign, and experiences as prisoner in Canada—all very entertaining and informing. There is also a body of papers, 1776–1784, coming down from Col. Thomas Johnson of Newbury, a half-Tory; a series of records of Gloucester County, 1770 to 1776, and an historical address on the history of Cumberland County, both these being counties established by New York.

In the April number of the *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, besides the several serial publications, is a first installment of a paper on Seals of Maritime New England, by Louis F. Middlebrook.

A history of Walpole, Mass., with the title *The Story of Walpole, 1724–1924*, by Willard De Lue, prepared under the authority of the town and the direction of an historical committee, has been published by the town.

Of interest to genealogists and some others is the *Proprietors' Map of Block Island, 1661*, recently issued by George R. Burgess of Providence, with annotations relative to all heads of families of record to 1717 as owning or leasing any real estate. Among other places he identifies the trading-house of Kempo Sybada.

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The New York legislature has appropriated \$315,000 for the observance of the 150th anniversaries of New York's part in the Revolution. Of this sum \$140,000 is for the purchase and rehabilitation of battlefields connected with the Burgoyne campaign—a thousand acres at Saratoga, an addition at Oriskany, and the making of the battlefields into parks. The rest of the appropriation is for the printing of a monograph on *The American Revolution in New York*, prepared by Alexander C. Flick, state historian, for the erection of markers, for celebrations of noteworthy events in and around New York City this year, and for suitable representation of New York at the sesquicentennial exhibition in Philadelphia.

The *Quarterly Journal* of the New York State Historical Association, January number, contains an account of the annual meeting of the association at Syracuse in October, and also a paper by Dr. William M. Beauchamp, entitled the Principal Founders of the Iroquois League and its Probable Date. The April number has an article by Noble E. Whitford on the Effects of the Erie Canal on New York History, and one by J. Elet Milton on Fort Brewerton.

In the April number of the New York Historical Society *Bulletin* is an article, by Alma R. Van Hovenberg, on the Stuyvesants in the Netherlands and New Netherland, with excellent portraits.

In the April number of the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* is a brief sketch of Artemas Ward (1848–1925), by H. S. F. Randolph; various abstracts of wills, and other continuations.

On August 2 a tablet of bronze commemorative of the four signers of the Declaration of Independence from New York, erected by the Daughters of the American Revolution in that state, through a committee of which Mrs. Charlotte A. Pitcher is chairman, will be unveiled in the Capitol at Albany with appropriate ceremonies.

The History of St. Michael's Church, Trenton, from 1703 to 1926 (Princeton University Press), by Hamilton Schuyler, officially authorized for publication by the vestry of the church, will be ready for distribution this autumn.

The Boroughs of Brooklyn and Queens, Counties of Nassau and Suffolk, Long Island, New York, four volumes, by Henry I. Hazelton, is an output of the Lewis Historical Publishing Company.

The Beginnings of the New York Central Railroad: a History, by Frank W. Stevens, is by way of celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of the road (Putnam).

The April number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* contains a paper by Francis N. Thorpe on Jeremiah S. Black, secretary of state at the close of Buchanan's administration; one by Charles I. Landis on Benjamin West and the Royal Academy; a continuation of the Journal of a Tour through Western Pennsylvania, 1809; and a facsimile reproduction of a letter from Jefferson to John Vaughan, May 20, 1819.

Professor A. H. Espenshade of the Pennsylvania State College has prepared, and the college is publishing, a volume of much interest and historical value on *Pennsylvania Place-Names* (pp. 375).

The April number of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* contains a History of Radio, by S. M. Kintner; an account of Old Bayardstown, by P. W. Siebert; and a continuation of Percy B. Caley's studies of Child Life in Colonial Western Pennsylvania.

A pamphlet on the *History of Eli Lewis and Family*, by Ellis S. Lewis of York, Pa., comes to us reprinted from the *Gazette and Daily* of that city. Major Eli Lewis, descended from Ellis Lewis, one of the early Welsh settlers in Pennsylvania, was a "fighting Quaker", and the founder of Lewisberry (1798), and the narrative is an address delivered at a local celebration.

A History of the Neshannock Presbyterian Church, New Wilmington, Pennsylvania, together with some account of the settlement of that part of northwestern Pennsylvania in which the church was organized, by Hubert R. Johnson, is brought out in Washington, D. C., by the National Capital Press.

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

Professor Edwin Mims of Vanderbilt University has brought out through Messrs. Doubleday a volume entitled *The Advancing South: Stories of Progress and Reaction*.

The *Maryland Historical Magazine* has in the March issue a study of Maryland's Religious History, by the late Dr. Bernard C. Steiner, and some letters (1783-1785) of Molly and Hetty Tilghman, edited by Dr. J. Hall Pleasants.

Reminiscences of Thirty Years in Baltimore, by Lilian Welsh, M.D., has for its central theme the progress in women's education (Baltimore, Norman).

The contents of the April number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* include items from the Virginia Council Journals, 1727, 1729; a portion of the Accomac rent roll, 1704; letters of Elizabeth Kent-

non, 1812; continuations of Bishop John Early's Diary (1807), and of Donald Robertson's account-book (1758-1769); and some Valley of Virginia Notes, contributed by Charles E. Kemper.

The April number of the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* contains an article by J. E. Kirkpatrick, Constitutional Development of the College of William and Mary; a letter of Sir Francis Wyatt written whilst governor of Virginia; letters to Jefferson from Archibald Cary and Robert Gamble; and two statements (1796) relative to Jefferson's official conduct at the time of Arnold's invasion.

Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine has in the April number an article by the editor on Westward Extension, 1763 to 1776; a letter from General Washington to Lund Washington, Aug. 20, 1775, reprinted from the *Correspondence and Journals of Samuel Blatchley Webb*; a letter of Edward M. Covell, written from Clifton Springs, N. Y., Apr. 23, 1861, pertaining chiefly to war sentiment in the North; and an account of Jefferson with the commonwealth of Virginia, 1785-1789.

Dr. John W. Wayland, Harrisonburg, Virginia, is the editor and publisher of *The Fairfax Line: Thomas Lewis's Journal of 1746*. The journal was kept by Lewis while surveying the southwest line of the Fairfax domain. Dr. Wayland is also the author of a *History of Shenandoah County* (Virginia), which has been published in Strasburg by the Shenandoah Publishing House.

Mr. Armistead C. Gordon has brought out, through the Old Dominion Press, *Memories and Memorials of William Gordon McCabe*, in two volumes.

Articles in the April number of the *North Carolina Historical Review* are: Scientific and Interpretative History, by W. W. Pierson, jr.; Thomas Cooper and the State Rights Movement in South Carolina, 1823-1830, by Dumas Malone; and a History of the Piedmont Railroad Company, by C. K. Brown. There are also reprints of Hermon Husband's *Impartial Relation* (1770) and his *Fan for Fanning and a Touchstone to Tryon* (1771). In the section of Historical Notes are found, among numerous other items, a letter from David L. Swain, president of the University of North Carolina, to President Jefferson Davis, Nov. 7, 1864, relative to the drafting of the senior class of the university, and some newspaper excerpts (1782-1785) pertaining to western claims, cessions, land-jobbers, etc.

The Iron Duke of the Methodist Itinerancy: an Account of the Life and Labors of the Reverend John Tillett of North Carolina, by A. W. Plyler, is from the Cokesbury Press, Nashville, Tennessee.

The *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* is printing the correspondence of Arthur Middleton, signer of the Declaration of

Independence, with annotations by Joseph W. Barnwell. The installments of the correspondence which appear in the issues of October, 1925, and January, 1926, include seven letters from Aedanus Burke, fifteen from Edward Rutledge, four from Middleton, and one from the South Carolina delegates in Congress, all of the years 1781-1782. The January number contains also a reminiscent letter from Dr. Tucker Harris (1747-1821) to his children, contributed by A. S. Salley, jr.

Francis B. Simkins has brought out through the Duke University Press a study of that period of South Carolina history which is essentially identified with the career of the late Senator Benjamin R. Tillman. It is entitled *The Tillman Movement in South Carolina*.

The *Biennial Report* (1924-1925) of the Louisiana State Museum records many valuable accessions to the collections of the Museum, including some historical manuscripts. It is a matter for regret that the work of indexing the records of the Superior Council of Louisiana, which has hitherto been done mainly through private benefaction, is threatened with discontinuance for lack of funds.

WESTERN STATES

The nineteenth annual convention of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held at Springfield, Ill., May 6, 7, and 8, in conjunction with the annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society. The president, Professor James A. Woodburn, read a presidential address on Western Radicalism in American Politics. There were papers on the Relations of the Primitive Cultures of the Mississippi and the Rio Grande, by Professor J. B. McHarg of Lawrence College; on the Life of the Common Soldier of the Union Army, by Professor Fred A. Shannon; on Abraham Lincoln and the Traditions of American Civil Liberty, by Professor Arthur C. Cole; and on other topics. There was also a discussion of the literary motive in the writing of history.

The contents of the October number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* include a paper by the late Governor James E. Campbell entitled, Sumner-Brooks-Burlingame: or the Last of the Great Challenges; a History of Flood Control in Ohio, by C. A. Bock; the address of Hon. Charles H. Workman at the unveiling of the tablet to Lincoln at Mansfield, Sept. 22, 1925, to commemorate the meeting that first endorsed Lincoln for the presidency; an account of the Akron Centennial, July 18-23, 1925, by Edwin W. Brouse; and an article on the Presidential Campaign of 1864 in Ohio, by Elizabeth F. Yager. The January number has for its principal content an account, by H. C. Shetrone, curator of archaeology, of the Explorations of the Hopewell Group of Prehistoric Earthworks.

Norman E. Hills of Toledo, Ohio, is the author and publisher of *A History of Kelley's Island, Ohio*.

The Indiana Historical Society *Publications*, vol. VIII., nos. 3 and 4, are, respectively, *The Environment of Abraham Lincoln in Indiana, with an Account of the DeBruler Family*, by John E. Inglehart and Eugenia Ehrmann, and *Early Navigation of the St. Joseph River*, by Otto M. Knoblock.

Professor James A. Woodburn contributes to the March number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* an article on the Admission of Indiana into the Union. In the same number Lee Burns discusses the revision of the territorial laws in 1807; J. Wesley Whickar gives an account of the Potawatomie Reservations in Benton, Fountain, Warren, and Tippecanoe Counties, and also of a Tri-County Historical Itinerary; and Clarence H. Smith contributes a sketch of Judge Martin L. Bundy (1817-1910), together with a number of letters from Bundy, written for the *Indiana Courier*, 1848-1849, and relating chiefly to political questions.

The *Indiana History Bulletin* of May contains an account, by E. Y. Guernsey, of an examination of an aboriginal cemetery and village site in Jackson County, Indiana.

The Chicago Historical Society *Bulletin* prints in the May number some letters of the Revolutionary period, namely: Peter Van B. Livingston to Samuel Stringer, June 7, 1775; James Warren to the Committee of the City and County of Albany, June 28, 1775; Philip Schuyler to the Albany Committee of Safety, July 13, 1775; and a rather newsy letter of William Tudor, written from Boston, Mar. 12, 1775.

In the *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association for 1910 Miss Irene T. Myers gave a comprehensive account of the archives of Kentucky, as complete as conditions at that time might permit. Since then the papers belonging to the office of the secretary of state have been reduced to order, classified, indexed, and catalogued. Mrs. Emma G. Cromwell, secretary of state, now puts forth, for this particular section of the archives, *A Catalogue: Records, Documents, Papers, etc., Kentucky Governors, 1792-1926* (pp. 186), showing in detail the contents of boxes and jackets, and accompanied by interesting pictures of governors and buildings.

The *Tennessee Historical Magazine* for January, 1925 (issued in February, 1926), contains a study, by Dr. E. M. Eriksson, of Official Newspaper Organs and the Campaign of 1828; an article by Dr. J. T. McGill on Franklin and Frankland: Names and Boundaries, pointing out the confusion and errors in the use of the two names; an account, by Judge Samuel C. Williams, of a Forgotten Campaign, namely, the expedition to Florida in the winter of 1812-1813 under Col. John Williams; and an article on the Centennial History of Memphis, by J. P. Young. Among the documents are a letter from Andrew Jackson to Silas Wright, Feb. 8, 1843, and one from Col. William B. Campbell, written from "Camp at Lometa on the Rio Grande", July 29, 1846.

The Michigan Historical Commission has issued volume II. of the *Messages of the Governors of Michigan*, edited by its secretary, Dr. George N. Fuller. The period covered is from 1846 to 1869; the volume includes the messages (together with biographical sketches) of Governors Felch, Ransom, Barry, McClelland, Parsons, Bingham, Wisner, Blair, and Crapo.

The *Michigan History Magazine* has in the April number an appreciation, by Herbert Randall, of Governor Alpheus Felch (1804-1896); Reminiscences of the Early Michigan Bar, by Joseph B. Moore; a sketch, by William L. Jenks, of Senator Charles A. Loomis (1816-1898), with three letters from Loomis to his father (1848-1849); an article by Charles M. Perry, entitled Dr. Tappan comes to Michigan; and a sketch of Chief Andrew Blackbird, by Ivan Swift.

The *Burton Historical Leaflet* of March contains a translation, by Mrs. L. O. Wolz, of the narrative of Prince Jerome Napoleon's visit to Detroit in 1861, taken from Ferri Pisani, *Lettres sur les États-Unis d'Amérique*. The May number contains the Story of Brownstown, by M. M. Quaife.

At the fifth state historical convention of Minnesota, held at Mankato June 17, Dr. William W. Folwell, president of the Minnesota Historical Society, presented a paper entitled Progress and Politics, dealing with the development of Minnesota after the Civil War; Mr. Thomas Hughes discussed Mankato's Historical Background; Dr. Grace L. Nute dealt with the topic Southern Minnesota: How Manuscripts tell its Story; and Professor John P. Pritchett presented Some Experiences of a Soldier in the Sibley Expedition, from the Journal of Henry J. Hagadorn.

Articles in the March number of *Minnesota History* are: the Significance of the Twin Cities for Minnesota History, by Norman S. B. Gras; Ramsay Crooks and the Fur Trade of the Northwest, by J. Ward Ruckman; the Mississippi Valley from Prairie du Chien to Lake Pepin: a Survey of Unpublished Sources, by Grace L. Nute; and an account by the editor of the annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society at St. Paul in January. Mr. W. M. Babcock contributes, with an introduction, some letters of 1849, printed in the *Minnesota Pioneer*, descriptive of steamboat travel on the upper Mississippi at the time.

The State Historical Society of Iowa has in press a volume by Bruce E. Mahan, entitled *Old Fort Crawford and the Frontier*.

Articles in the April number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* are: the Iowa State Bar Association and Law Reform, by James R. McVicker; the Militia under the Constitution of Iowa, by Carl H. Erbe; and the Wittenberg Manual Labor College, by Robert Y. Kerr.

The March number of the *Palimpsest* has an article by J. A. Swisher on Constitution Making in 1857. William Penn Clarke (1817-1903) is

given special prominence in this sketch and in other articles in this issue.

The April number of the *Annals of Iowa* has a journal, by Robert Campbell, of an expedition (November, 1832, to September, 1833) from the Hudson's Bay Country into Kentucky and return with a flock of sheep. Under the title Indian Affairs in Iowa in 1840 is the report of Robert Lucas, governor of Iowa Territory and superintendent of Indian affairs, Oct. 23, 1840. Benjamin F. Pearson's War Diary is continued (October, 1863, to March, 1864).

The Missouri Historical Society (St. Louis) has brought out *The Missouri Compromises and Presidential Policies, 1820-1825, from the Letters of William Plumer, jr., Representative from New Hampshire*, edited by Everett S. Brown.

The *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* for April includes a journal of a Trip to Texas in 1828 by José María Sánchez, translated by Professor Carlos E. Castañeda of the College of William and Mary; an account, by Lotta M. Spell, of the First Text-Book used in Texas; and a controversial contribution, "El Yllustre Señor Chamuscado", by Father Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M.

Professor Eugene C. Barker has brought out through the Cokesbury Press of Nashville *The Life of Stephen F. Austin, Founder of Texas, 1793-1836*.

A Thumb-Nail History of the City of Houston, Texas, from its Founding in 1836 to the Year 1912, by Dr. Samuel O. Young, is described as an old book which has never been in circulation, but has been lying on the printer's shelves (Austin, Gammell's Book Store).

A History of the Regulators and Moderators and the Shelby County War in 1841 and 1842 in the Republic of Texas, a pamphlet by John W. Middleton published in 1883, of which only one copy is known to be extant, has been reprinted in Austin by the Personal Service Book Shop. The same concern has brought out a reprint of Ashbel Smith's *Reminiscences of the Texas Republic* (Galveston, 1876).

The December number of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* contains the Reminiscences of a Range Rider, by James C. Henderson; an incident in the Early History of Dewey County, by Frank D. Northrup; and a reprint of Gen. W. B. Hazen's pamphlet, *Some Corrections of "Life on the Plains"* (St. Paul, 1874), replying to strictures upon him in General Custer's book of that name. The January number includes: Life in the Cherokee Nation a Decade after the Civil War, by V. A. Travis; a Nearly Forgotten Fragment of Local History, by Robert L. Ream; a Biographical Sketch of Rev. Willis F. Folsom (a Choctaw Indian), by Phil D. Brewer; and some passages from Folsom's diary, prepared by Rev. W. F. Dunkle.

The *Colorado Magazine*, which suspended publication in April, 1925, because of failure to obtain a legislative appropriation, has been enabled through financial assistance from the city of Denver to resume publication. The issue which now appears (March) contains an article by L. R. Hafen on Pioneer Struggles for a Colorado Road across the Rockies, and one by W. H. Jackson on Photographing the Colorado Rockies Fifty Years Ago.

The *New Mexico Historical Review* has in its second number (April), besides the serial contributions, New Mexico in the Great War (with chapters by Walter M. Danburg and Rupert F. Asplund), and Professor George P. Hammond's study of Don Juan de Oñate and the Founding of New Mexico, an article by Professor Aurelio M. Espinosa of Stanford University on Spanish Folk-Lore in New Mexico, and one by Professor Percy M. Baldwin of the New Mexico College of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts on Fray Marcos de Niza and his Discovery of the Seven Cities of Cíbola.

The *Washington Historical Quarterly* has in the April number a group of four articles which are designated by the editor as "a symposium of studies on the Pacific Rim". They are: Our Asiatic Neighbors, by Payson J. Treat; Canada on the Pacific, 1866-1925, by Walter N. Sage; the Movement to the Far West during the Decade of the 'Sixties, by Dan E. Clark; and Should We Study the History of Asia? by Herbert H. Gowen. There is also a letter from Captain George Vancouver to James Sykes, Jan. 11, 1798, with regard to financial need toward the publication of his *Voyage*.

The *Quarterly* of the Oregon Historical Society has in the March number the second installment of Charles H. Carey's history of the Creation of Oregon as a State; an article by M. L. Wardell on Oregon Immigration prior to 1846; one by O. Larsell on the Development of Medical Education in the Pacific Northwest; one by Henry J. Biddle on the ancient Indian village, Wsihram; the second installment of Lewis A. McArthur's study of Oregon Geographical Names; and the Journal of a Trip to Oregon in 1851, by Elizabeth Wood, reprinted from the *Peoria Weekly Republican* (Jan. 30, Feb. 13, 1852).

CANADA

During the last twenty years the Public Archives of Canada have acquired some 7000 pictures, framed and unframed, a collection of great value to the illustration of Canadian history. Part I. of a *Catalogue of Pictures*, by James F. Kenney, chief of the editing and research division, has now been published (pp. xxxiv, 169), being an elaborate catalogue of portraits related to Canadian history in the period ending with 1700. The catalogue is scholarly and informing, a handsome volume, and includes some fifteen well-executed illustrations of items in the collection described.

The *Canadian Historical Review* for March presents the papers of George W. Brown, of the University of Toronto, on the Opening of the

St. Lawrence to American Shipping, and of Professor Wilson P. Shortridge, of the University of West Virginia, on the Canadian-American Frontier during the Rebellion of 1837-1838, which were read at the Ann Arbor meeting of the American Historical Association; also an account of the Canadian Civil Service during the period from 1867 and the Civil Service Act of 1868 to the Royal Commission of 1880 and its proposals of reform. There is also printed a notable memorial on Newfoundland addressed by David Kirke in 1652 to the Council of State in London.

In the preface of Reginald G. Trotter's *Canadian History: a Syllabus and Guide to Reading* (Macmillan, pp. xiv, 162) it is indicated that the book is the outgrowth of five years' experience with a general course on the history of Canada at Stanford University, and to this has been added the author's more recent experience as associate professor of history in Queen's University. The book seems, both as to topics and as to bibliography, admirably adapted to aid the student of its important subject.

Much public as well as professional history is to be found carefully recounted in *The Bench and Bar of Lower Canada down to 1850*, by A. W. Patrick Buchanan (Montreal, Burton, 1925, pp. 219).

Mr. John Forsyth, archivist of the province of British Columbia, has lately brought out two more numbers in the series of *Memoirs of the Archives Department*, nos. VI. and VII. The former is concerned with the early history of the mines on the Fraser River, and is edited by Judge F. W. Howay; the other, prepared by R. L. Reid, K.C., deals with the Assay Office and the establishment of the Mint at New Westminster.

AMERICA, SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

One evening in 1845 the Baron Alleye de Cyprey, Louis Philippe's minister to Mexico, incensed by remarks made about him by Don Mariano Otero in his newspaper, fell into a fight with him at a fashionable casino called the Baño de las Delicias. This incident and the diplomatic correspondence to which it gave rise are set forth in no. 18 of the *Archivo Histórico Diplomático Mexicano*, entitled *El Baron Alleye de Cyprey y el Baño de las Delicias*. The Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores has also published a handy little *Bibliografía de Cronistas de la Ciudad de México* (pp. 18) by Sr. Manuel Romero de Terreros.

The University of Texas *Bulletin* of April 15, 1925, is a study, by Helen Phipps, of *Some Aspects of the Agrarian Question in Mexico* (pp. 157). In order to an understanding of the agrarian problem as it has developed within a century or less, the author has found it necessary to make a study of the land tenure of the colonial period, and even prior to the conquest, inasmuch as colonial institutions have persisted through the centuries and are still deeply rooted in the life of Mexico.

The latest of the pamphlets of the World Peace Foundation (IX. 5, pp. 337-446) is a careful and well-informed discussion of the *Mexican*

Revolution and the United States, 1910-1926, by Dr. Charles W. Hackett, professor of Latin-American history in the University of Texas. It is accompanied by the text in English of several important documents.

The Biblioteca Nacional of San Salvador has made a valuable contribution to the history of that republic by printing, from a manuscript in the Archivo de Indias at Seville, the *Estado General de la Provincia de San Salvador, Reyno de Guatemala*, prepared in 1807 by Antonio Gutiérrez y Ulloa, *corregidor intendente* of that province, and describing fully, in gazetteer fashion, all the districts, towns, villages, and haciendas of the province as it then was.

Colonel Auguste Nemours, a graduate of St. Cyr, for some time an administrative official in Haiti and now chargé d'affaires of that republic at the Hague, has undertaken on the basis of serious and thorough researches an *Histoire Militaire de la Guerre d'Indépendance de Saint-Domingue*, of which the first volume, after careful discussion of the rise of Toussaint L'Ouverture, gives the history of the military operations from the arrival of Leclerc to the arrest of Toussaint in June, 1802 (Nancy, Berger-Levrault, 1925, pp. viii, 284).

The Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas of Buenos Aires announces as to appear before long in the series of *Documentos para la Historia Argentina*, vol. XIX., ecclesiastical, containing the annual letters of the Society of Jesus from the province of Paraguay, Chile, and Tucumán, 1609-1615.

University lectures of Professor Emilio Ravignani on the *Historia Constitucional de la República de Argentina* have been published by two of his pupils, L. R. Praprotnik and L. M. Sicard, from their stenographic notes. Tomo I. (Buenos Aires, J. Peuser, 1926, pp. 368) covers the colonial and revolutionary period and the formation of national and provincial governments, down to 1825.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. H. St. John de Crèvecoeur [ed. H. L. Bourdin and S. T. Williams], *Sketch of a Contrast between the Spanish and the English Colonies* (University of California Chronicle, April); D. H. Sill, *Kiliaen van Rensselaer* (New York Genealogical and Biographical Record, July); J. M. Beck, *The Preamble of the Constitution* (Georgetown Law Journal, March); George C. Lay, *The Commerce Clause of the Constitution: its History and Development* (American Law Review, March-April); R. B. Mowat, *The Friendship of Great Britain and the United States* (Quarterly Review, April); Henri Sée, *Les Côtes Américaines du Pacifique vues par un Français au Début du XIX^e Siècle* (Bulletin Hispanique, April); Paul Descamps, *Les Origines de la Coéducation en Amérique* (Revue Anglo-Américaine, February); J. H. Easterby, *The Charleston Commercial Convention of 1854* (South Atlantic

Quarterly, April) ; Kathleen Bruce, *Economic Factors in the Manufacture of Confederate Ordnance* (Army Ordnance, November, January) ; H. M. Wriston, *American Participation in International Conferences* (American Journal of International Law, January) ; D. F. Houston, *Eight Years with Wilson* (World's Work, April, May, June) ; Lieut. de Vaiss. R. Coindreau, *Le Transport des Troupes Américaines en France*, concl. (Revue Maritime, March) ; *id.*, *Le Repatriement de l'Armée Américaine*, cont. (*ibid.*, April) ; H. C. Kittredge, *The Merchant Marine of Cape Cod* (Harvard Graduates' Magazine, March) ; W. C. Ford, *Early Maps of Carolina* (Geographical Review, April) ; V. Rodríguez Beteta, *Laws relative to the Printing-Press in Colonial America* (Inter-America, April) ; Frederick J. Turner, *The Children of the Pioneers* (Yale Review, July).

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

Dr. Conyers Read, formerly a professor of history in the University of Chicago, is the author of the recently published volume on *Mr. Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth* (see p. 766, *supra*).

Dr. Vera L. Brown is an assistant professor of history in Smith College.

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Dr. Nathaniel W. Stephenson, formerly professor of history in the College of Charleston, is an editor of the "Chronicles of America" photo-plays which are being produced under the direction of the Yale University Press.

Dr. George M. Stephenson is an assistant professor of history in the University of Minnesota.

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